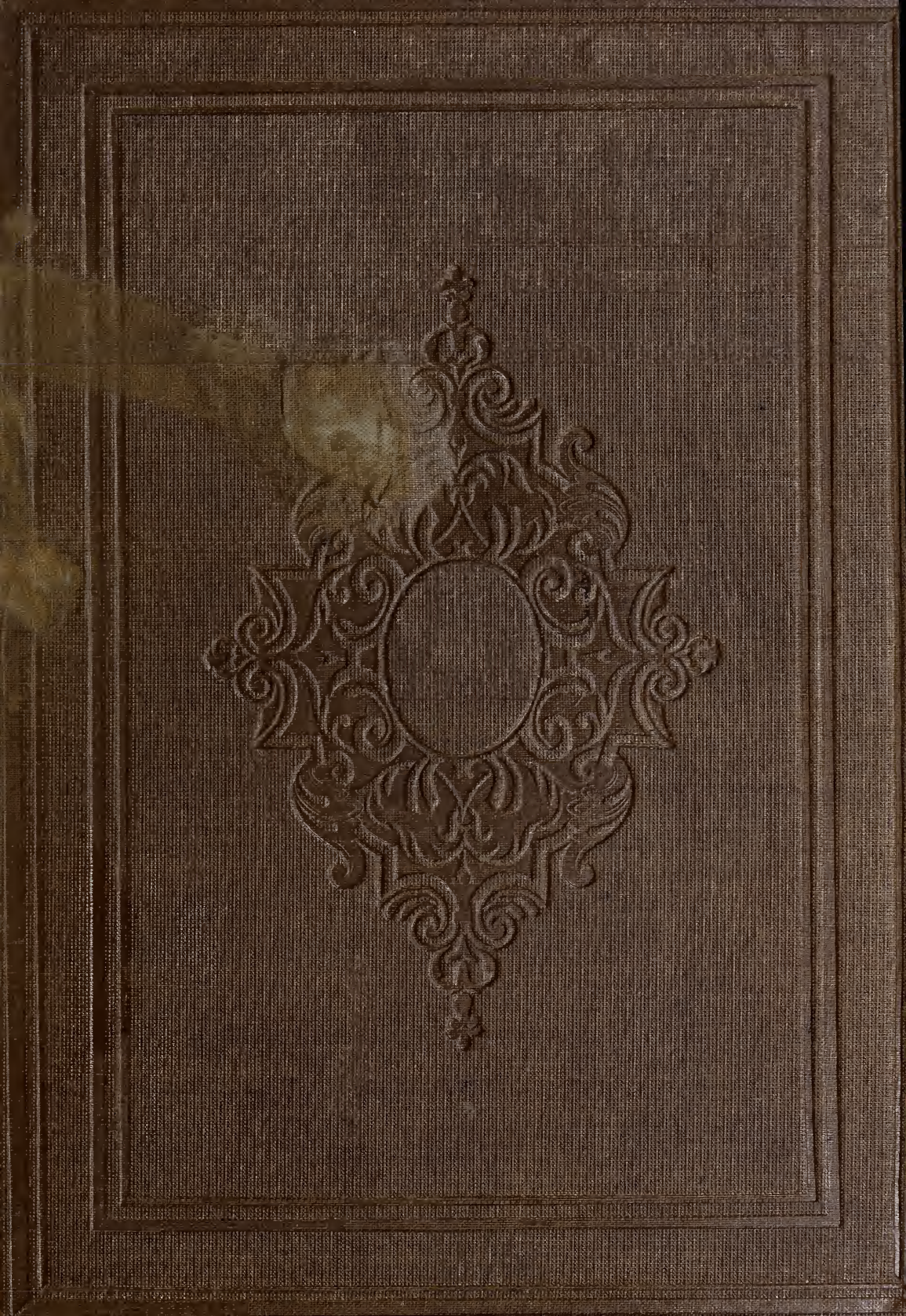

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MISCELLANIES

OF THE

Philobiblon Society.

VOL. XIV.

Quia vero de Librorum amore principaliter disserit, placuit nobis, more veterum Latinorum, ipsum Graeco vocabulo Philobiblon amabiliter nuncupare.

Richard de Bury.

LONDON:

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185826

The Philobiblon Society.

1876.

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NOTICE OF LORD ZOUCHE.

AS the fourteenth volume of the Miſcellanies of the Philobiblon Society may not be iſſued for ſome ſhort time, it is thought adviſable to circulate the accompanying notice of its deceaſed member Lord Zouche, for the ſatisfaction of the Society, his family, and friends. Another copy of the notice will form part of the forthcoming volume.

NOTICE OF LORD ZOUCHE.

THIS Society has to regret the loſs of one of its oldeſt and not leaſt diſtinguiſhed members, Lord Zouche, better known in the literary world as Robert Curzon.

His parents were the Honourable Robert Curzon (ſecond ſon of Aſsheton firſt Viſcount), and the Baroneſs de la Zouche. He was born March 16, 1810. He was educated at the Charter Houſe, one of his ſchoolfellows being Mr. Thackeray, with whom, after a long interval of time, in mature years, he renewed his acquaintance. He was matriculated at Chriſt Church, Oxford, in 1828, and

remained there till 1830. Strictly claſſical ſtudies, however, preſented no attractions to him, and he took no degree at the Univerſity. Nor had he any aptitude or liking for public or political life, into which he was nevertheleſs forcibly plunged for a ſhort period during thoſe very ſtormy times which preceded and accompanied the enactment of the firſt Reform Bill. He was returned in 1831 to Parliament for Clitheroe, a borough which his father had long repreſented, and which in fact belonged to his family. He duly recorded his vote againſt every ſtage of the Reform Bill, and when that meaſure became law, bade adieu without any reluctance to public life. He went abroad with the Rev. Walter Sneyd in 1832, and paſſed the winter with him at Rome. In 1833 he determined to gratify a long cheriſhed deſire of viſiting the Eaſt;

and in the ſpring of that year he began his travels, with the late Sir George Palmer as his companion, and returned to England about Chriſtmas 1834. In 1837 he made an expedition to Egypt and the monaſteries of Aſia Minor. He returned to England in the autumn of 1838. The reſult of theſe travels was the compoſition and publication, at a much later period, of a work to be preſently mentioned.

In 1841 he became attached to the Legation at Conſtantinople, then preſided over by Sir Stratford Canning, to whom he alſo acted as private ſecretary.

In 1843 he was employed with Colonel Williams in adjuſting a boundary treaty between Turkey and Perſia, and for this purpoſe went to Erzeroum. While there he was ſtruck down by an illneſs, the effect of which he never entirely ſhook off,

to which, indeed, and to the ſorrow conſequent upon the loſs of his wife, his premature death is in great meaſure to be aſcribed.

In a work which he ſubſequently publiſhed he gives the following account of this calamity:

"October 1, 1843.

* * * *

"I felt perfectly well when we "went to dinner, when ſuddenly it "appeared to me that what I was "eating was burning hot, and had "a ſtrange odd taſte. I believe I "got up and ſtaggered acroſs the "room, but here my ſenſes failed "me, and I remained inſenſible for "twenty-ſeven days. An attack of "brain fever had come upon me "like a blow, as ſudden and over-"whelming as a flaſh of lightning. "On the 27th of October I awoke "in the morning, but, as I ſuppoſe, "went to ſleep for a while; in the

" afternoon I fairly came to my " ſenſes, and ſaw my ſervant ſitting " on the ſcarlet cloth divan under " the window looking at me.

" I felt ſomething ſtrange, and " ſtill, and gloomy in the air, and " was rather bewildered with the " ſenſation. This was ſoon to be " accounted for: the ſervant, ſeeing " that I was alive, came forward " towards the bed, while a low rum- " bling noiſe made itſelf heard. " This noiſe became louder; flakes " of plaſter fell from the ceiling, the " room trembled, and was filled with " a fine duſt, with which I was " nearly choked. My man exclaim- " ed, ' The earth moves—are you not " ' afraid ? ' As he ſpoke the noiſe " which we had heard increaſed, " and an immenſe beam, made of " the trunk of a whole tree, which " was immediately above my bed, " ſplit, with a report like a cannon.

" The earthquake ſhook the houſe " terribly; it creaked and trembled " like a ſhip in a heavy gale of " wind; the noiſe increaſed to a " roar, not like thunder, but howling " and bellowing, with a low rum- " bling ſound, while the air was as " ſtill as if nature was paralyzed " with dread; every now and " then a tremendous craſh gave " notice of a falling houſe. The " one oppoſite our houſe belonging " to a poor widow was entirely de- " ſtroyed; and, in the midſt of a " moſt fearful uproar, the two " rooms, one on each ſide of my bed- " room, fell in; while the air was " darkened altogether, as in an " eclipſe, with clouds of duſt. So " great was the noiſe of the earth- " quake all around, that neither my " attendant nor I diſtinguiſhed the " particular craſh when the two " rooms adjoining us fell in. Some

" of the minarets and many of the
" houſes of the city were de-
" moliſhed; parts of the ancient
" caſtellated walls fell down. The
" top of one of the two beautiful
" minarets of the old medreſſé, the
" glory of Erzeroom, called uſually
" Eki Chifteh, diſappeared. Thoſe
" who were out and able to witneſs
" the devaſtation, and to hear the
" awful roaring noiſe, ſaid they had
" never ſeen or heard anything
" more tremendous than the ſcene
" before their eyes. It is difficult
" to expreſs in words the ſtrange,
" awful ſenſation produced by the
" ſeeming impoſſible contradiction
" of a dead ſtillneſs in the midſt of
" the craſh of falling buildings, the
" ſullen low bellowing, which per-
" haps ſounded from beneath the
" ground, and the tremendous up-
" roar that aroſe on all ſides during
" the earthquake. I have not met

" with an account of this ſtrange " phenomenon in the deſcriptions " of other earthquakes, and do not " know whether it is a uſual ac- " companiment to theſe terrible con- " vulſions of nature.

" The earthquake accompliſhed " its miſſion. In the midſt of terror " and deſtruction it reſtored one " poor creature to life. I regained " my ſenſes and my faculties on the " 27th, as ſuddenly as I had loſt " them on the 1ſt day of this " month. God give me grace to " make a good uſe of the life which " was reſtored to me under ſuch " awful circumſtances!

" On that day the doctor, who " had ſome difficulty in getting to " my room through the ruins of the " ante-room, took the ice off my " head, and in a few days I reco- " vered ſufficient ſtrength to move " my limbs, which I could not do

" at firſt. As ſoon as it appeared " that there was any probability of " my recovery, my kind friends " agreed that the beſt chance of re- " gaining my health lay in removing, " as ſoon as I could bear the jour- " ney, to a better climate." [1]

The account of his expedition from Erzeroom to the borders of the Black Sea is very intereſting. The following extracts are ſufficient to carry on the hiſtory in this brief memoir :—

" On the 27th of December, all " preparations being completed, I " ſtarted on my journey over the " mountains to Trebizond. Kiamili " Paſha had prepared an order to " all and ſundry, great and ſmall, " upon the road, to give me every

[1] " Armenia : a Year at Erzeroum, and on the Frontiers of Ruſſia, Turkey, and Perſia. By the Hon. Robert Curzon." Chap. xi. p. 158.

" aſſiſtance, and, with this and a " powerful firman from the Sultan, " I had authority to do whatever I " pleaſed in that part of the world.

* * * *

" My perſonal appearance muſt " have been remarkable: I had a " long beard, and ſo thin a face that " my noſe was tranſlucent, if not " tranſparent. I had a Perſian cap " upon my head, and over other " garments a toilette of my own in- " vention, which veſted me with a " dignity peculiar to myſelf: this " was a large eider-down quilt, of " bright green ſilk, in the middle " of which I had cauſed a hole to " be made, through which I put my " head, the two ends of the quilt " hung down before and behind " like a chaſuble or a poncho; " round it I tied a girdle. My " general appearance muſt have " been rather ſtriking to the be-

" holder, and was probably con-
" ſidered by the natives on the road
" as the official coſtume of an Elchi
" Bey. I was ſo weak that when
" I was bundled into the takterа-
" wan, I could not turn round, and
" was nearly ſmothered in my own
" feathers, till ſomebody turned me
" the right ſide upwards, when I
" was able to bid adieu to all the
" principal Europeans and others
" who had kindly aſſembled to ſee
" me off. A number of people ac-
" companied me for ſome diſtance
" out of the town, and Colonel
" Williams came as far as Elijè,
" about three hours in the ſnow,
" which ended my firſt day's march.

* * * *

" In this way, by ſlow degrees, we
" ſcrambled on our way, till, on the
" 10th of January, after fifteen days'
" journey through the intenſe cold
" of the mountains, I arrived, in

" better health and ſtrength than " when I ſtarted, at the edge of the " table-land, from whence I ſaw the " blue waters of the ſea, and at 11 " o'clock a.m. I was ſeated in my " room in the quarantine ſtation at " Trebizond." [1]

During his illneſs at Erzeroom he received the Holy Communion from Dr. Wolff, then on his way to Bokhara. The cure of Mr. Curzon was, in great meaſure, due to the ſkill of Dr., now Sir Joſeph, Dickſon, who, ſuch are the changes and chances of this world, being this year in attendance on the Shah of Perſia, ſaw his former patient at Parham a few weeks before his death. It ſhould alſo be mentioned, that at Erzeroom, Mr. Curzon formed a friendſhip with Sir John Fenwick Williams, the hero of Kars (the Colonel Williams men-

[1] " Armenia," chap. xii. pp. 165, 166, 175.

tioned in the extracts already given), which was never interrupted.

He never visited the East again.

In 1848 he published the work already referred to, called, "Visits "to Monasteries in the Levant."

This charming little work obtained immediately a complete success, and passed through several editions.

In his Preface he says:—

"The origin of these pages is as "follows:—

"I was staying by myself in an "old country house belonging to "my family, but not often inhabited "by them, and having nothing to "do in the evening, I looked about "for some occupation to amuse the "passing hours. In the room where "I was sitting there was a large "bookcase full of ancient manu-"scripts, many of which had been "collected by myself, in various out-

" of-the-way places, in different " parts of the world. Taking ſome " of theſe ponderous volumes from " their ſhelves, I turned over their " wide vellum leaves, and admired " the antiquity of one, and the gold " and azure which gleamed upon " the pages of another.

" The ſight of theſe books brought " before my mind many ſcenes and " recollections of the countries from " which they came, and I ſaid to " myſelf, ' I know what I will do ; " ' I will write down ſome account " ' of the moſt curious of theſe " ' manuſcripts, and the places in " ' which they were found, as well " ' as ſome of the adventures which " ' I encountered in the purſuit of " ' my venerable game.'

" I ſat down accordingly, and in a " ſhort time accumulated a heap of " papers connected more or leſs with " the hiſtory of the ancient manu-

" ſcripts. At the deſire of ſome of " my friends I ſelected the following " pages, and it is with great diffi- " dence that I preſent them to the " public. If they have any merits " whatever, theſe muſt conſiſt in " their containing deſcriptions of " localities but ſeldom viſited in " modern times: or if they refer to " places better known to the general " reader, I hope that the peculiar " circumſtances which occurred dur- " ing my ſtay there, or on my jour- " neys through the neighbouring " countries, may be found ſuffici- " ently intereſting to afford ſome " excuſe for my preſumption in " ſending them to the preſs."

In 1854 he publiſhed another little work, entitled, " Armenia: a " Year at Erzeroum, and on the " Frontiers of Ruſſia, Turkey, and " Perſia."

From this work the extract con-

taining the account of his marvellous recovery from an apparently desperate illneſs has been already given.

The cauſe of the great ſucceſs of his firſt work is, in great meaſure, to be found in the very peculiar, but very agreeable ſtyle of the perſpicuous and pictureſque narrative. The ſtyle was eminently characteriſtic of the writer. He wrote, indeed, as he ſpoke. His language was the mirror of his mind. All concealment of thought was foreign to his nature, and, while, in conſequence of an imperfect education, he would ſometimes make blunders as to matters of rather ordinary ancient claſſical and modern political knowledge, his naturally quick underſtanding, his love of perſpicuity, his ſimplicity and ſcorn of ornament, his determination to ſtate the impreſſion which he had formed, whatever prejudice it might affront, often

rendered his converſation not only very intereſting and original, but occaſionally very inſtructive.

The peculiar character of his reading and purſuits increaſed, if it did not originate, this habit of converſation and writing.

For Latin and Greek erudition he cared little.

Politics, eſpecially modern, had no intereſt for him. His general hiſtorical knowledge was deficient, but his paſſion for enquiring into mediæval life led him to accumulate with great pains, and excellent taſte, every object that could illuſtrate it, eſpecially armour, of which he not only formed a great and rare collection, but which he arranged according to epochs, and made a ſort of repreſentative hiſtory. It was not a little remarkable that, to this intenſe curioſity as to European mediævaliſm he added a curi-

oſity ſcarcely leſs intenſe as to Oriental domeſtic hiſtory, and both theſe ſubjects intereſted him to the laſt day of his life. His collection of Oriental MS. is exceedingly precious. A catalogue of theſe was privately printed in 1849. He had alſo the more ordinary taſte of an antiquary for whatever in literature or armour, in editions of books or utenſils of peace or war, could ſhow an undoubtedly ancient pedigree; the mere fact of their antiquity, as much as the goodneſs of their condition, won his regard.

He had a naturally good taſte, aided by a correct eye and ear, and he eſpecially appreciated nice and well executed works of painting, ſculpture, or jewellery.

In 1850 he married Emily Julia, the youngeſt daughter of Sir Robert and Lady Wilmot Horton, the latter known to all readers of Byron as :—

" She walks in beauty like the night
" Of cloudleſs realms and ſtarry ſkies;
" And all that's beſt of dark and bright,
" Meet in her aſpect and her eyes," &c.

He had two children, who ſurvive him; the preſent lord and a daughter.

On the 11th of March, 1866, his wife died.

His mother died in 1870, and he ſucceeded to the peerage which ſhe had holden in her own right, but his ſpirits never rallied after the ſhock which the death of his wife gave him.

His health became thoroughly undermined, and after a long and painful illneſs at Parham in Suſſex, the ſeat of his maternal anceſtors, he yielded up, with humble but aſſured faith, his ſpirit to God who gave it, the 2nd of Auguſt, 1873.

The foundation of his character was ſincerity, which, but for his

natural good breeding and deſire to avoid inflicting pain, might have ſometimes given offence; but ſo checked and tempered, it laid the foundation of thoſe few but ſteady and loving friendſhips which cheered his often very chequered life. He was, indeed, a much loving and much beloved friend, as well as a companion, whoſe natural talent, varied experience, original converſation, and lively wit will live long in the memory of thoſe who had the good fortune to be well acquainted with him.

FINIS.

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

RELATING TO VENETIAN PAINTERS AND THEIR PICTURES IN THE 16TH CENTURY.

COMMUNICATED BY EDWARD CHENEY.

DURING a ſtay at Venice, in the year 1873, it was ſuggeſted to me by my friend Mr. Rawdon Brown, whoſe gueſt I was, that an intereſting and curious collection might be made of the letters, receipts, and other original documents relating to Venetian painters and their works, now exiſting in the different repoſitories of the city.

Much as theſe have been ranſacked, ſomething, no doubt, might ſtill be recovered; but I had neither time nor opportunity to purſue my reſearches very far. A few notices,

however, I have been able to collect, which I now venture to offer as a contribution to the forthcoming volume of our miſcellany.

It is true that ſeveral of theſe documents have already been printed, but in a mutilated and garbled form, in tranſlations or paraphraſes, or in periodical works, of no general circulation, and of merely local intereſt.

I have added a few obſervations upon the pictures to which they refer, ſome of theſe unhappily no longer exiſting, but all of them once held in high eſtimation by the lovers of art.

Contemporary notices either of painters or their works are few and fragmentary — they are diſperſed through works little acceſſible to the general reader, and ſome are altogether inedited.

Mr. Rawdon Brown has had op-

portunities such as no other investigator possesses of examining original papers, and he has made his selections with an amount of taste and industry such as are seldom found combined. These he has placed at my disposal. Whatever is new or curious in these sheets is to be attributed to him. His accuracy never fails; and if any errors occur in the following pages, the editor only is answerable.

Titian.[1]

The first picture by this great painter of which I have obtained any particular notice is now lost altogether, or mislaid beyond the reach of my researches.

It was placed in an honourable position in the Ducal Palace before the year 1517, and was consequently

[1] Born in 1477, died in 1576.

painted at the period of the artiſt's higheſt power. Its hiſtory is ſingular, and throws ſome light on the Venetian diplomacy of the period.

The Venetians, juſt emerging from the dangers in which the League of Cambray had placed their ſtate, were compelled to practiſe every art of diplomacy to ſeparate their enemies and to obtain friends if poſſible amongſt them. The French, leſs formidable than the Spaniards, more remote than the Germans, were the allies whoſe aſſiſtance they deſired to ſecure. The favour of their generals and ſtateſmen was eagerly ſought and liberally paid for.

Marſhal Lautrec[1] commanded the

---

[1] Odet de Foix, Seigneur de Lautrec, was nephew to the famous Gaſton de Foix, and brother to Me. Chateaubriand, the miſtreſs of Francis I. He was wounded at the battle of Ravenna, where his uncle loſt his life, and he died whilſt beſieging Naples in the year 1528.

French army at Milan, and was alſo Governor of the whole province which Francis I. claimed as his appanage. A perſonage ſo important was not to be neglected; and the minute and accurate Marin Sanuto has preſerved for us the items that compoſed the bribe or tribute with which the Senate endeavoured to propitiate him. A picture by Titian was included in it;—it is from this notice alone that any particulars concerning it have been preſerved. It was an altar-piece, repreſenting a group of ſaints, and was painted for the private chapel of the Doge. It muſt have been a fine painting, ſince we learn from the ſame authority that the alienation of it was generally diſapproved.

Marino Sanuto,[1] Diarii, vol. xxiv. carte 174 e 174 tergo.

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[1] The original manuſcript is in the Marcian Library at Venice.

" Da poi diſnar fo conſeio di x. " con Zonta. Fu preſo certe coſſe " per il preſente ſi manda a Milan " a Monſignor di Lutrech qual è " per valuta di ducati 8000, con il " qual va lucha Buſato, homo di S. " Andrea Griti con 8 mulli, il qual " e prima dito preſente, uno balaſo " di peſo carati 153 compra d —— " (*mancante*) per ducati 3100, item do " bazili d'oro mazizo, valeno ducati " —— item tapeti zimiſchiſach (Da- " maſcene) no. —— beliſſimi, item " tapedi da tavola, item profumigi e " odori per gran valuta. Item il " quadro è fato per man di Tuziano " di S. Michiel con S. Zorzi e S. " Thodoro da le bande, qual è in " palazo dil principe: et non vien " lodato il mandarlo."[1]

[1] I give the identical words of the annaliſt in the text, but a tranſlation may not be unacceptable to thoſe who are not familiar with the Venetian dialect of the 16th century,

We learn from the ſame authority how anxiouſly theſe coſtly preſents were expected, and how greatly they were eſteemed :—

Carte 178.

"30 maggio 1517.

" Da poi diſnar fo conſeio di X.
" Da Milan dil Caroldo Segretario
" di 26.

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always uſed by him in his diaries :—" 27 May, 1517. After dinner the Council of X., with their aſſeſſors, aſſembled. Certain objects were ſelected for the preſent to be made to Mr. Lautrec, which amounted to 8,000 ducats, and which will be taken by Luca Buſato, a ſervant of Ser Andrea Gritti, on eight mules; it conſiſts of a ruby weighing 150 carats, bought of —— (wanting), for 3,100 ducats; alſo two baſins of maſſive gold, valued at —— (wanting), moſt beautiful, alſo damaſk carpets, in number —— (wanting), moſt beautiful; alſo a table cover, alſo perfumes and unguents of great price, alſo a picture drawn by the hand of Titian repreſenting S. Michael with S. George and S. Theodore on each ſide, which is in the palace of the prince, and ſending it was not approved."

" Dil dito pur di 26, come in
" queſta matina ſcriſſe ecc :—il qual
" Lutrech fato paſqua di le pente-
" coſte certiſſimo partirà per franza,
" perho voria li preſenti foſſeno
" azonti per poterli dar prima che ſoa
" Signoria partiſſe per franza." [1]

Carte 183 e 183 tergo.
" 2 giugno 1517.

" Di Milan ſo letere dil Caroldo
" Segretario di 29 dil paſato come
" ricevute noſtre lettere di 28 zercha
" li preſenti vanno per dar a lo Ill^mo
" Lutrech erano poſti a camino
" deſidera preſto i ſiano de li per

[1] Deſpatches 178. May 30, 1517, Milan. Letters came from Milan from the ſecretary Caroldo, dated 29th ultimo, acknowledging the receipt of our letters of the 26th concerning the preſents for the illuſtrious Lautrec, expreſſing his anxiety that they ſhould arrive before his departure for France.

From the ſame ſource we hear that on Tueſday Lautrec departs for France, but of the preſents we hear no tidings.

" poterli a preſentar avanti la ſua
" partita per franza." [1]

Carte 183.

" 4 giugno 1517.

" Da Milano fo letere dil Segre-
" tario noſtro di —— come lo illu-
" ſtriſſimo Lutrech partiva quel zorno
" ſequente di preſenti nulla ſa dove
" i ſinno pur foſſe li odori che molto
" deſidera dil reſto ſi potra mandar
" drio et per colegio fo ſcritto
" batando a Crema mandi li odori per
" ſtafeta, el reſto ſara portati drio." [2]

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[1] Deſpatches 183 and 183 *tergo*. June 2, 1517. Deſpatches arrived from Milan from the ſecretary Caroldo, dated the 29th ultimo, acknowledging the receipt of our letters of the 23rd concerning the gifts deſtined for the illuſtrious Lutrech, which were already on the road, and which he deſired ſhould be preſented to him before his Lordſhip departs.

[2] Carte 167. 4th June, 1517. Letters arrived from Milan from our ſecretary announcing the departure of the illuſtrious Lautrec on the next day. We know nothing where the preſents are, the perfumes he much wiſhes to

Carte 208.

"14 giugno 1517.

"Di Milan dil Caroldo Segre-
" tario noſtro date a pinaruol adi
" — come era zonto li il preſente
" manda la Signoria noſtra a mon-
" ſignor di Lutrech qual auto molto
" a grato e volſe deſligar le caſſe e
" veder ſi che ringratia per infinite
" volte con altre parole ut in literis."[1]

The picture ſeems to have excited leſs gratitude than the perfumes, and was an object of leſs ſolicitude. No farther mention is made of it.

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receive at once, the other things might be ſent after him. A letter was ſent deſiring the perfumes to be deſpatched by eſtafette, the reſt might follow.

[1] June 14, 1517. Letters arrived from Milan from our ſecretary Caroldo, dated Pignerol, announcing the arrival of the preſents ſent by the Senate to Mr. Lutrech, who was greatly pleaſed, and inſiſted on opening the caſes to examine them, in order that he might thank the ſeignory, with many other gracious expreſſions.

It is neither in the gallery of the Louvre nor in any of the public collections in Europe.

The Assumption of the Virgin, by Titian, formerly in the church of S. Maria Glorioſa de' Frari.

The aſſumption of the Virgin, by Titian, often cited as his maſterpiece, was painted in the early part of the ſixteenth century. We learn from a contemporary,[1] that Titian had already emancipated himſelf from the dry manner of his early maſters, Gentile and Gian Bellini, and devoted himſelf to the teaching of Giorgione, whoſe bold ſtyle and vigorous bruſh had greatly ſtruck his imagination.

Titian had been aſſociated with Giorgione, or rather perhaps had been

[1] Lodovico Dolce, "Dialogo della Pittura." Venezia, 1557.

employed by him, as an aſſiſtant in decorating the front of the Fondaco de' Tedeſchi. He had painted a figure of a Judith with ſuch vigour of colouring and ſuch correctneſs of outline as to excite general attention, and Giorgione, the ſuppoſed author, received compliments and congratulations upon it which he was obliged to repudiate, and to acknowledge that the noble figure ſo much commended, was the work of a pupil.

This ſucceſs, according to the ſame authority, raiſed Titian to ſuch a height of reputation and faſhion, that it became a ſort of rivalry amongſt the wealthy and the noble who ſhould ſecure one of his hiſtorical pictures or who ſhould ſit to him for a portrait. The induſtry and application of the popular painter muſt have been equal to his genius; the amount of his authentic and unqueſtioned works is prodigious.

One of his firſt and moſt eager patrons was Fra Germano, Prior of the convent of S. Maria Glorioſa de' Frari. This eccleſiaſtic, anxious to commemorate his name and to confer a benefit on the community over which he preſided, employed Titian to paint a picture of unuſual dimenſions and of a popular ſubject, which he deſtined for the high altar of the conventual church.

The rich marble frame[1] or architrave deſtined to receive the picture was raiſed at once, but it was not till the painter had been ſtimulated by repeated remonſtrances from the impatient Prior that the picture itſelf was finiſhed.

This long-expected picture was

[1] The inſcription on the frame runs thus :— On the right, "Aſſumptæ in cœlum . Virgini . Æterni . Opificis . Matri." On the left, "Frater Germanus . Hanc aram . erigi . curavit. MDXVI."

fixed in its deſtined place and exhibited to the public gaze on the eve of St. Barnabas, in the year 1518. The event is recorded in the diaries of Marin Sanuto—"Yeſterday, the "20th day of May, 1518, S. Bar- "nardino's day, which day, according "to a decree of the Senate, is kept "holy, and on which none of the "public offices open, the large picture "on the high altar of S. Maria, the "church of the Minor Friars, painted "by Titian, was put up mounted in "a lofty marble frame at the coſt of "Marco Zerman, now guardian of "this monaſtery."

Beautiful as this picture is, and juſt as is the admiration it has excited, it yet muſt be admitted that it has faults beyond thoſe which belong to an unmanageable and hacknied ſubject. The vigour of colouring, where the hues of the thick and ample draperies are harmonized and

contrasted as in a bed of flowers, the varied expression of the apostles' upturned faces, marked by every emotion of astonishment, love, admiration, awe, and devotion—the attitudes corresponding to the leading characteristic of the countenances—all are admirable. The beatified Virgin fills the centre of the picture, backed by a dazzling glory, graduating from the intensity of white heat, as it diverges from the figure, into pale yellow and deep orange, till it terminates in dark red and a ruddy brown.

The figures and heads of the cherubim partake of the same varieties; those nearer the focus of attraction sport amongst amber clouds with limbs of rosy tint and wings of rainbow brightness, while others more distant are softened into pale and unsubstantial visions, with features undefined and eyes upturned in ineffable adoration.

The figure of the Virgin, clothed in flowing robes of blue and crimſon, riſes in all the vigour of youthful and ſubſtantial beauty ; the head is noble, the expreſſion devout, but neither intenſe nor enthuſiaſtic. The attitude it has been obſerved is not entirely free from conſtraint and affectation, a fault from which the Venetian painters are uſually exempt ; but the dazzling brilliancy of the effect and the general harmony of colour diſarm all criticiſm.

The treatment of ſuch a ſubject neceſſitates the preſence of the Deity, and in this fatal neceſſity the weakneſs of the compoſition lies.

M. Angelo and Raphael have failed in the attempt to repreſent what is in fact an impoſſible imperſonation. Titian has been ſtill leſs fortunate — a floating figure, foreſhortened in an attitude neither noble nor impoſing, bends forward to re-

ceive the Virgin, an angel ſupports the left arm, and a winged cherub, bearing the celeſtial crown of the Queen of Heaven, hovers on the right. The painter has not departed in any particular from the received and *liturgical* method of treating his ſubject. It is difficult to give dramatic intereſt to an incident ſo often repreſented and where ſo little variety of action is admitted; he wiſely truſted to his pallet, and his confidence has been fully juſtified.

This picture, ſo warmly admired when firſt painted, and in our own days ſo highly vaunted, had at the cloſe of the laſt century become ſo black and dingy from the ſmoke of torches and incenſe daily burnt before it, that it was overlooked by the French in the year 1796, and was contemptuouſly rejected as unworthy of a place in the muſeums of Paris.

Some time ſubſequently, when the Venetian Academy was inſtituted under the preſidency of Count Cicognara, an order was procured to remove it from the church and to place it in the newly eſtabliſhed national picture gallery.

Its ſtate was deplorable, but a little attention convinced the ſagacious preſident that it might be eaſily and ſafely reſtored.

The event ſurpaſſed his moſt ſanguine expectations; the dirt was merely ſuperficial, and had tended rather to preſerve than to injure the painting. It was eaſily removed. The work of cleaning was performed in public, and the preſident uſed to relate with high ſatisfaction the delight of the ſpectators as the coats of dirt were rolled away under the careful manipulation of the cleaner, leaving the glowing canvaſs in all the freſhneſs of its original colour.

Votive picture of the Pesaro family in the church of S. Maria Glorioſa de' Frati.

This church is rich in works of art, and though it has loſt its famous altar-piece, it yet retains one of the fineſt pictures by Titian now exiſting, and which, too, like the Aſſumption, eſcaped the rapacity of the French.[1]

This picture, repreſenting various members of the Peſaro family kneeling before the throne of the Virgin, was painted ſhortly after the "Aſſumption" which I have attempted to deſcribe. The date of the contract is 1519. Without this poſitive evidence I ſhould have been inclined to fix its date before that of the "Aſ-

[1] Conſidered as the private property of the Peſaro family, and therefore not liable to confiſcation according to the laws of ſpoliation eſtabliſhed by the conquerors.

ſumption;" for though the Virgin and child are painted with the eaſe and freedom of the later period of the maſter, in the portraits there is ſomething of the ſtiffneſs that marks the tranſition from his firſt to his ſecond manner.

It was a votive picture, ordered by Jacopo Peſaro, Biſhop of Paphos, in gratitude for the ſucceſs of the Papal and Venetian arms againſt the Turks in the year 1501, and for the peace which was the conſequence of it. When finiſhed, it was placed on the altar dedicated by the prelate to the Conception of the Virgin.

The biſhop was diſtinguiſhed rather as a diplomatiſt than as a churchman. He had filled places of confidence and dignity in the State, and had been Apoſtolic Legate on board the united Roman and Venetian fleet which had been bleſſed by Pope Alexander VI., and it is the

arms of this Pontiff (the arms of the Borgias) which are emblazoned on the banner that an armed warrior is about to conſecrate. The "turbaned Turk" this warrior leads forward denotes at once the ſcene of action and the triumphant reſult, which brings the converted infidel to the feet of the Virgin.

The biſhop kneels beneath St. Peter, who, with the Goſpel in his hands and the keys at his feet, fills the centre, and benignantly encourages the devotion of his clients.

On the right, the Virgin enthroned, with flowing veil over head and ſhoulders, ſupports the infant Saviour on her knee, and turns a glance towards the ſuppliant biſhop, while the infant looks tenderly on St. Francis, who, with St. Anthony, commends his kneeling votaries to compaſſion and mercy.

The lofty pillars which flank the throne are loſt in floating clouds which, with cherubs bearing aloft the emblematic croſs, form the only canopy of the Virgin's throne.

The portraits, in attitudes nearly parallel, with claſped hands and compoſed countenances, repreſent a perfect confidence in celeſtial patronage, with little of the enthuſiaſm of erring and ſuppliant mortals.

The head of a beautiful youth in a gown of white ſatin preſents a charming contraſt to the harſher features and gorgeous ceremonial robes of his progenitors.

In this picture, as ſimple in its conception as admirable in execution, all is repoſe, abſtraction, and ſilence; no part is prominent, all is ſubdued to the ſolemn devotional tone which pervades the whole.

The taſte and propriety of theſe

votive pictures have been queſtioned, bringing, as they often do, perſons engaged in one contemporaneous action who flouriſhed in centuries and countries widely apart; but unreaſonably as it appears to me. The repreſentation is wholly emblematical, and no anachroniſm can fairly be charged where the preſence of the Deity is ſuppoſed, before whom time, ſpace, and national diſtinctions are annihilated.

The Biſhop of Paphos, who was at once the patron of his family and of the painter, occupies the principal place in the picture. His title to pre-eminence on earth, and above the earth, he was not likely to forget. His epitaph on an adjacent tablet informs us, with more than the uſual amount of monumental hyperbole, that he had been "ex nobili inter "Venetos, ad nobiliorem inter an-"gelos, familiam dilatus."

The houſe of Peſaro is extinct,[1] and its poſſeſſions have paſſed into the ſtill more illuſtrious family of Gradenigo, and with them the papers and muniments of its rich archives. Amongſt theſe is the original compact and receipt of Titian for this picture, a copy of which I have been fortunate enough to procure, and of which the reader will find a fac-ſimile at the cloſe of this notice.

The Peſaro family was amongſt the richeſt, if not the moſt ancient, of the Venetian ariſtocracy. Like all the Venetian nobles of the day, they were merchants, and they had carried on an extenſive and lucrative trade with England. Their burial place is in the Franciſcan church

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[1] The laſt of the race died at Bath, a voluntary exile, in the firſt half of the preſent century.

which they had done so much to adorn; and near the altar of the Conception stands the superb mausoleum of Doge Giovanni Pesaro—who wore the ducal bonnet for a single year, from 1658 to 1659—the most costly monument ever raised to a Christian prince. It reaches from the floor to the roof of the lofty aisle, and is as wide as the façade of a moderate-sized church. Four colossal statues of negroes support the superincumbent weight. In the first compartment appears the sarcophagus in which the body of the Doge is interred; an inscription records the number of years he had lived, and the date of his death —"vixit, devixit;" above, under a canopy, in robes of state, and crowned with the ducal half-mitre, in an attitude of lofty complacency, he claims the honour of a royal resurrection, and an inscription in-

forms us of the fact—"Hic revixit." The Cardinal Virtues help to fill the enormous ſpace allotted to the ſepulchre, and add to its coſtlineſs. The materials are the richeſt, the workmanſhip the moſt elaborate—it is, indeed, a monument of magnificence and of pride, and, it muſt be added, of bad taſte.

On the other ſide of the church the monument of Canova preſents a contraſt the moſt ſtriking. The deſign was the ſculptor's own, deſtined for a cenotaph to be erected to Titian. It is large and coſtly, many figures adorn it, and for a time it was admired as a model of claſſic purity. But what a jumble of reality and allegory, what poverty of invention, what meanneſs of execution!

"A farce with neither truth nor art
"To pleaſe the Fancy, or to touch the heart."[1]

[1] Crabbe.

Titian's Receipts.

The receipt for Biſhop Peſaro's altar piece, which is preſerved with jealous care in the Gradenigo muniment room, is wholly in the handwriting of Titian, and is, I believe, the only genuine autograph of the great painter exiſting. He wrote with difficulty, and in a ſtyle and character which prove how little his habits were literary. It is written in the Venetian dialect of that day, not very intelligible in the preſent, out of Venice itſelf; but it is curious and intereſting, and I now give it in fac-ſimile from the original, with a tranſcript which I doubt not will be uſeful.

The Peſaro papers have been carefully catalogued and arranged, and this receipt is bound in a thick volume containing many other documents of intereſt. It was not with-

out conſiderable difficulty, and through the interceſſion of irreſiſtible influence, that I got a ſight of this precious volume, and procured the permiſſion to have a photograph of the receipt.

Copies of Titian's letters and facſimiles of the original manuſcripts have been printed at different times, and amongſt the papers of Apoſtolo Zeno, in the Marcian Library, and in other depoſitories, there are letters purporting to be in his handwriting, not one of which I believe to be genuine, though written by his direction and really deſpatched to his correſpondents. The ſtyle is totally different, and even the ſignature varies. He is no longer "Tuciā dipintor," but "Titiano Vicellio." They differ in manner more widely ſtill; inſtead of the modeſt ſimplicity of his early ſtyle, there is an effort at Tuſcan purity of diction, and in one of them

is an alluſion, light and unbecoming, if not abſolutely profane, which much more reſembles the ſtyle of his friend Aretino than that of the ſimple, unpreſuming painter.

" + 1519 adi 28 Aprile in Vene-
" tia. R. Jo Ticiã depintor da la
" S. de mõ Signor veſchovo de baſo
" da cha da peſarro ducati diexe per
" parte de una pala che io ha a far
" a ſua S. in la gieſſia de li frati
" menori."

" Adi 12 zugno R^vij^ dal mõ Si-
" gnor ſopra dito ducati diexe a cõto
" ut ſopra."

" Adi 23 ſeptimbrio R^ui^ dal mõ
" Signor ſopra dito ducati 15 cioe
" ducati quindexe per caſon ut ſopra."

" It. adi dito receuj da Sua S. per
" el telaro de legno et tele et fatura
" de dito telaro ducati ſie Et Io ticiã
" o ſcripto."

" It. adi 13 April 1522 ricevi io

" Ticia ſopra dito qui ĩ caſſa mia di
" el ſopradito Remº. mõſignor
" ducati dieſe a lire sej et ſoldi
" quatro per ducato."

" It. adi 5 Mazo 1522.
" Rvj io Ticiã dal ſopra dito ducati
" diexe a lire ſeij et ſoldi 4 per ducato."
" It. di 7 Septimbrio contada da
" el Rmo. mõ Signor ducati dieze."
" 1525 adi 20 de Zugno Rvj io
" Titiã ſopra dito ducati quindexe
" cioe d. 15."

" Adi 30 April 1526.
" Contadi ut ſopra da el Rmo. S.
" mõ ducati ſedexe."

" 1526 adi 27 Mazo.
" Rvj io Tician ſopra ſcripto el
" compito pagamento de la dª
" palla."

It will be obſerved that the price paid for this picture, including the canvaſs on which it is painted, was ninety-two ducats.

Titian painted nearly all the portraits of the Doges who had filled the ducal chair during his long life; and we know by the entries in the State account books[1] that he received for theſe ſums not exceeding twenty-five ducats.[2] He was the moſt popular portrait painter of his day; and few of the remarkable men and beautiful women of Spain and Italy who had the opportunity of ſitting to him did not avail themſelves of it, the prices paid by them were certainly not higher than thoſe given by the State. There is not the ſlighteſt appearance, however, of

[1] See Gio. Bat. Lorenzi, "Monumenti per ſervire alla Storia del Palazzo Ducale di Venezia." In this valuable compilation all theſe details are preſerved, and every particular of intereſt has been gleaned with equal judgment and accuracy from the voluminous documents now exiſting connected with the hiſtory of that monumental edifice.

[2] The ducat was worth ſix lire five ſoldi.

haſte or careleſſneſs about any of theſe; on the contrary, they are very highly finiſhed, and moſt of them poſſeſs that indeſcribable air of truth that ſtamps them at once as ſtrong likeneſſes.

Fuſeli ſtyles Titian "the father of portrait-painting;" he has never, indeed, been ſurpaſſed, very ſeldom equalled. His principle was the right one; a cloſe reſemblance was the firſt object; he obviouſly ſcorned to flatter, to cancel the defects that accident or the hand of time had ſtamped on the face. The individual was repreſented in his beſt looks, and in his beſt attire, ſtanding or ſitting in an attitude of perfect eaſe and ſimplicity, every part carefully worked, but kept in due ſubordination. In painting women, young or old, he purſued the ſame plan; their dreſs is often rich and even magnificent, but it is never

ſuffered to interfere with the effect, or to diſtract attention from the head.

He is equally attentive in the arrangement of the background. It is uſually ſimple and unobtruſive in colour, but ſuited to the dreſs or complexion of the ſitter. If a ſcene or an object be required to identify the perſon repreſented, it is always indicated with preciſion, but with all due ſubordination to the principal object.

St. Peter Martyr, by Titian.

Formerly in the church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo.

Dal Notatorio 7. Capi del Conſiglio de' Dieci—1525-1527. C. 57.

" 1525 Die 30 Novembris.

" Li infraſcripti el^mi Sig^i Capi del " Ill^mo Conſeglio di X. viſta et in-

" teſa la oblazione facta dal gaſtaldo
" et compagni a la bancha de la
" ſchuola di S. Pietro Martyre in
" la chieſa de S. Zuan e polo di voler
" far a ſpeſe loro proprie la palla de
" laltar de S. Petro Martyre pre-
" dicto, et non a ſpeſe de li altri
" fratelli di eſſa ſchola ſi come ſe
" hano ſottoſcripti et obligati.
" Conſiderata ben tal oblatione do-
" vere eſſer utile alla univerſità
" promettendo etiam loro de la
" bancha far depenzer la ditta Pala
" cum ogni poſſibile ſolemnita, et
" omnibus bene penſitatis hano ter-
" minato et per virtù de la preſente
" terminano le Sue Ex^me^ et ſta-
" tuiſcono che 'l ſia accepta la obla-
" tione del caſtaldo et compagni de
" la bancha predicta videlizet che
" loro a ſue proprie ſpeſe et de i ſui
" danari facino far dicta palla in
" quella più excellentia che ſe potrà
" non tochando un ſoldo de quelli

" della ſchola. Cum queſta etiam
" conditione che ſe per lo advenir
" el ſara data alcuna helemoſina
" offerta over oblatione alla dicta
" ſchuola etiam per coadiuvar el far
" de dicta Palla tute tal offerte et
" oblatione ſiino applicate ad altre
" ſpeſe et beneficii et non per la
" palla acciò che quella tuta ſii per-
" fecta de i danari di quelli de la
" bancha, come ſe offeriſcono et
" queſto non obſtante la parte preſa
" in contrario nel capitulo de eſſa
" ſchuola; et hano ordinato ſe ne
" faci la preſente nota ad intelli-
" gentia de tuti."

" Polo Nani,
" Aloysius Gradonico,
" Capi Ill^mi Conſili X.

" Lecta de verbo ad verbum ſe
" ſubſcripſerint in dato Ex-
" emplo."

" 1525 die 26 Januarj
" inciſa per deliberationem
" Conſelij X."

In the year 1525, the Gaſtaldo, or Steward of the Confraternity of S. Pietro Martire, together with certain brothers of that ſociety, offered to preſent an altar-piece to their proprietary chapel, in the church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo.

The chiefs of the Council of X., to whom the propoſal was referred, readily ſanctioned it, and the picture was completed about the year 1533,[1] at the time when Titian's powers were matured, and his genius fully developed. His engagements at the time, however, were ſo numerous, that even *his* induſtry could not keep pace with the impatience of his employers, and it was not without re-

[1] I have not aſcertained the exact date. Ticozzi ſpeaks of it as having been done "ſome years" in 1537. Marin Sanuto's diaries cloſe in 1533. It is probable that, had the picture been completed before that time, it would have found a place in his annals.

iterated entreaties and even threats, that the picture was completed.

His fame had extended far beyond the precincts of his country, he was courted by the kings of Spain and of France; and if for a moment he was dazzled by their flattery, it is to the credit of his patriotism that he could never be induced to fix himself permanently in a foreign state.

S. Peter Martyr was a saint in the order of S. Dominico, to which he belonged, hardly inferior in popularity to the great Founder himself. His fate was tragical, and his courage in meeting it had been indomitable. His martyrdom was a favourite theme for preachers, and a subject for painters.

It must be remembered that the manner of treating the events of scripture and the accredited legends of the church by painters and sculptors was prescribed by liturgical

rules, from which no departure was permitted.

The lives of the Saints and Martyrs, written by authors of accredited authority, were received with little leſs veneration than the ſacred volume itſelf. The legend of S. Peter Martyr had received the ſanction of his order. He was in every way a remarkable man—an enthuſiaſt and a perſecutor; firmly convinced himſelf of the truth of the doctrines he taught, he had neither heſitation nor remorſe in forcing them on others. Thoſe who accepted them not were the enemies of God, and he deemed he did God ſervice in condemning them to death. In purſuance of this taſk, he totally diſregarded his own ſafety; and if he fell in the proſecution of it, he would the ſooner receive the crown of martyrdom which he knew awaited him.

We learn from his hiſtory, that, while travelling between Milan and Como with another monk of his order, he was overtaken by aſſaſſins and ſlain. The zeal with which he had preached a cruſade againſt the Albigenſian hereſy, and the ſucceſs that had attended his efforts, had inſpired the profeſſors of it with the keeneſt deſire of revenge. It was while paſſing through a foreſt that he was overtaken by his enemies, thrown to the ground, and deſpatched with the blows of an axe. His companion eſcaped the ſame fate by a precipitate flight. Utterly powerleſs in the hands of his aſſaſſins but ſupported by his pious enthuſiaſm, a celeſtial viſion opens before his upturned eyes, and beckoning ſeraphs bear aloft the emblematic palm-branch he ſo long had coveted. He ſealed his laſt confeſſion with his blood; and dipping his

finger in his welling ſide, he writes the word "credo" on the earth, and expires.

This ſubject, ſo frequently painted, was invariably treated in exact accordance with the letter of the accepted legend. By the earlier maſters, with the quaint ſimplicity of the period, the letters compoſing the word "credo" having a prominence both in ſize and colour that hardly accords with hiſtoric probability or pictureſque effect. Without departing from his brief, Titian produced a work as wholly original as though it had never been treated before. This was one of the great preceptive pictures of the world.[1] It had been

[1] Aretino, in a letter addreſſed to the Florentine artiſt Tribolo, calls this picture "divine," and it ſeems from the ſame letter that Tribolo himſelf, who was probably a better judge of art than his correſpondent, had pronounced that there was nothing in Italy more

pronounced by judges to unite the accumulated powers of the great maſters of the art. In colour, the maſter-piece of Titian, with the grandeur of M. Angelo's compoſition, the ingenuity of Raphael in telling a ſtory, and we may add a repreſentation of landſcape ſcenery ſuch as was never imagined before, and has never ſince been ſurpaſſed.

If Titian was the father of portrait-painting, he was the inventor of landſcape. It would be vain to heap technical praiſe on a work, the merits of which have never been queſtioned, but one remark muſt be made, as this picture formed an epoch in the hiſtory of art. It is the firſt in point of date in which the conventional low horizon was

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beautiful than Titian's S. Pietro Martire. Poſterity could but repeat theſe well-merited eulogiums—alas—alas!

adopted, an invention to which it owed much of its marvellous effect.

It is extraordinary that after this diſcovery was once made, and the effect recogniſed, the example ſhould not have been univerſally followed, but far from this, even Titian himſelf did not always adopt it, and in the other ſchools of Italy the high horizon was maintained with its interminable grades of diſtant perſpective till the end of the century.

The ſcene of the miracle is a wooded landſcape, branching trees, and foliage rich, broad and large, ſo as to aſſiſt the general effect and not to draw attention from it, and around the group an opening towards the centre affords a glimpſe of towers and houſes and varied plains, while purple mountains in the diſtance indicate the ſcene of the crime, but no help is at hand, and a galloping warrior ſeen in the middle diſtance reminds

us that the murderer was not unſupported.

This fine picture enjoyed at the time it was painted the high reputation it has ever ſince ſuſtained.

Ticozzi in his life of Titian records that one Daniel Nis, probably a Dutch picture dealer, tempted the monks of SS. Giovanni e Paolo with the offer of eighteen thouſand ſcudi (a price in thoſe days unheard of), but that the Senate interpoſed and prohibited the ſale under the penalty of death.[1]

In the preſent day the total deſtruction of this picture was witneſſed with more calmneſs, and its loſs is the more lamentable, as no tolerable copy

[1] This circumſtance is recorded by Marco Boſchini in doggerel verſes in his "Arte del "navager pittoreſco Veneto."

"Diſdotto mille ſcudi ſta eſquidita
"Zogia da Daniel Nis fu negoziada.
"Una chi comanda ghe tagiè la ſtrada,
"Col dir, laſſela, pena la vita."

exiſts. I was at Venice when this irreparable loſs was ſuſtained, the circumſtances were ſingular and myſterious. This picture, together with a fine altarpiece by Gian Bellini, had been removed from their place in the church to be relined and cleaned, and they were placed temporarily in the chapel of the Roſario,[1] where they could be ſeen in a better light, perhaps with the idea of tranſporting them ultimately to the Academy.

On the morning of the 16th of July, 1867, which was dark and rainy, all Venice was alarmed with the report that the church of S. Giovanni e Paolo was in flames and that the chapel of the Roſario had been already conſumed. It proved to be too true. A fire had broken out in the night, and had not been diſ-

[1] This chapel was built by the Confraternity of the Roſario in commemoration of the victory of Curzola in 1571.

covered till the church was opened in the morning, when the mischief was already complete. The pictures, which stood upon easels on the floor of the chapel, were totally destroyed, so were all the other pictures which adorned the walls—the magnificent "Crucifixion" of Tintoretto (of which no print or copy exists), the carvings of Brustolon, and the clever but mannered marbles of Bonazza and his school.

How had the accident happened?—was it indeed an accident? Such were the questions eagerly asked. The surmises were numerous and various, but few attributed the misfortune to chance. Some imagined a sudden and intemperate burst of zeal on the part of Protestants who had taken this tardy and inconsiderate mode of manifesting their revenge against such an inveterate enemy to their sect as S. Pietro Martire. Others

again ſuggeſted that the monks themſelves, reſenting their treatment by the government, and the total ſuppreſſion of their convent, which was threatened, had determined that the brighteſt ornament of their church ſhould not ſurvive their expulſion, and had themſelves been the perpetrators of the crime. But no one accepted either of theſe ſolutions, though for a time they were repeated by the zealots of the "Black" and "Red" parties in Venice.[1]

There was alſo a third ſurmiſe,[2]

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[1] The names by which the clerical and revolutionary parties are diſtinguiſhed.

[2] Another ſuggeſtion was alſo made that had even leſs of probability, and involved a far heavier charge of guilt. It was hinted that the fire had been purpoſely kindled by ſome daring depredator, who, with his accomplices, had got poſſeſſion of Titian's picture, and had ſet fire to the chapel to conceal his theft. It was confidently predicted by thoſe who adopted this theory that the picture would

which was not the leſs readily credited in private becauſe it was not openly advanced.

It was remembered that the Dominican monks of SS. Giovanni e Paolo had given deep offence to a powerful and unſcrupulous party, and that to this party, the act of revenge might be attributed.

The religious ſuperiors of the convent had incenſed the Republican party by refuſing to perform the funeral ſervice over the bodies of the Bandiera brothers,[1] two martyrs of

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one day be offered for ſale in America. Such a ſurmiſe could hardly be adopted ſeriouſly. I mentioned it to the Cavaliere Fabris, the inſpector of pictures in the ducal palace, and he ſettled the queſtion at once by telling me that he had penetrated into the chapel before the rubbiſh of cinders had been removed, and had poſſeſſed himſelf of a fragment of the canvas on which the picture was painted, ſufficient to ſatisfy every one that its deſtruction had been complete.

[1] Theſe unfortunate young men had been

that cauſe, and even refuſed to ſanction the ſolemn function that the Government had commanded, by their preſence. The ſilence of the

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baniſhed from Italy on account of their participation in ſome of the plots by which that country was for ever diſturbed. They were reſiding at Malta in the year 1841, and it was from thence that they made an ill-adviſed deſcent on the coaſt of Italy. They landed at Brindiſi, proclaimed a republic, made an abortive attempt to corrupt the fidelity of the garriſon and to raiſe the country. Their party was ſpeedily diſperſed, the ringleaders were ſeized, tried by a court-martial, condemned to death, and ſhot in the trenches of the fortreſs. They were attended in death by a prieſt, and buried with the uſual decencies enjoined by the church.

The attempt was ſo hopeleſs and ſo totally unſupported that it was ſurmiſed the contrivers could hardly be of ſound mind.

Soon after the political independence of Italy had been achieved by the Pruſſian ſucceſſes in Bohemia, all thoſe who had formerly laboured in the cauſe were regarded as heroes, and the ſufferers in it as martyrs. The Bandieras were not forgotten. Their bodies were

Government, the neglect of all inquiry, the ſtifling even of all inveſtigation, the reſerve of the daily preſs, ſeemed to give colour to the ſurmiſe that the authorities were afraid of making diſcoveries which might fix

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exhumed and brought to Venice, and a public funeral was decreed. Intramural interments had long been prohibited, but an exception was made in their favour, and the church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo was fixed for the place of burial. A funeral proceſſion was commanded, with all the pomp that bands of muſic, flags flying, and ſtrings of gondolas could give it.

The prieſts objected that it was againſt canonical rules to perform the burial ſervice twice over the ſame body; and the ſuperior of the convent not only refuſed to perform the ſervice himſelf, but prohibited the attendance of all the clergy of the church. A prieſt was brought from the mainland, who was with difficulty perſuaded to officiate, and the Dominican monks incurred a ſtill deeper meaſure of hatred from their inveterate enemies. It was ſoon after this event that the fire occurred, and thoſe were not wanting who traced one event from the other as cauſe and effect.

guilt on parties whom they dared not puniſh.

It was not till weeks and months had elapſed that the obvious ſolution was ſuggeſted. It was then remembered that torches uſed in proceſſions and in the illumination of altars were ſometimes depoſited in this chapel. It was alſo known that the ſacriſtan was not to be truſted, and that he was in the daily habit of deep drinking, which very frequently degenerated into abſolute intoxication, and that to his careleſſneſs when in this ſtate, the calamity might fairly be attributed. This hypotheſis, the moſt plauſible and at the ſame time the moſt obvious, did not meet with immediate favour, but the probability of a gratuitous crime ſhould not be readily admitted, and when no reaſonable motive can be aſſigned for it, it is but fair to ſuppoſe it has not been committed.

St. Chriſtopher, freſco by Titian.

This freſco is painted over the door of a narrow ſtaircaſe in the Ducal palace leading from the private apartment of the Doge into the chapel of the palace, called the "Chieſetta." It is now diſuſed; it has neither beauty of deſign nor decoration, and the ſteps are ſteep, rough, and uneven; it would ſeem ſtrange that Titian ſhould have been invited to ornament ſuch a ſpot with an important work. The door is low, and the ſpace between it and the trunk vault is filled up with the painting repreſenting S. Chriſtopher bearing the Infant Saviour acroſs a river. It is the only freſco now remaining by the maſter in Venice.[1] The preciſe date is uncer-

[1] It is ſaid that ſeveral houſes on the Grand Canal were painted in freſco by him. A

tain, but, for ſeveral reaſons, may, I think, be fixed about the year 1523, the year in which Andrea Gritti was elected Doge. This prince was a devoted partizan of the French, and it was that ſame year in which they deſcended again into Lombardy and were firſt heard of at S. Criſtoforo, a village a few miles from Milan. Gritti loved the arts, and was a patron and admirer of Titian. He had daily occaſion to paſs this ſtaircaſe, and with the taſte for decoration that diſtinguiſhed that age and country, he longed to ornament the bare walls and vacant ſpaces.

By the ſelection of the ſubject, he indicated and gratified his political feelings without too openly offend-

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veſtige of a figure may ſtill be obſerved by his hand on the front of the Fondaco de' Tedeſchi. The reſt of the façade, which was formerly rich and picturesque in colour, has recently been whitewaſhed.

ing thoſe of his countrymen who did not participate in them.

This theory, at once ingenious and plauſible, was ſuggeſted to me by my friend Mr. Rawdon Brown, whoſe cloſe ſtudy of the hiſtory of thoſe times has enabled him to diſcover and explain the ſignificance of monuments and emblems which have totally eſcaped the attention of leſs intelligent and leſs well informed inveſtigators.

The legend of S. Chriſtopher, which has been ſo great a favourite in the church, and the frequent ſubject of illuſtration, has little of intereſt or romance to recommend it. S. Chriſtopher was a native of Judea and the ſubject of a Canaanitiſh prince of great power and renown. He was a giant twelve cubits in height and of terrible aſpect. His ambition made him deſirous of ſerving a more powerful maſter than

his native prince, and he accordingly changed his allegiance, but obſerving that his new maſter croſſed his brow and ſhowed ſymptoms of alarm when the name of the Devil was mentioned, he inferred that this Devil muſt be more powerful than his maſter, and to him he reſolved to proffer his ſervice. So manful a recruit had no difficulty in ſecuring acceptance, but here again he was doomed to diſappointment. However potent his preſent lord might be, he obſerved that the ſight of a croſs always inſpired him with terror, and that rather than paſs that emblem he would take the roughеſt and moſt circuitous roads. He enquired the cauſe, and for the firſt time heard the name of Chriſt. He now reſolved that Him only would he ſerve, but he knew not where to ſeek Him. A holy hermit to whom he applied, inſtructed him, and re-

commended him to repair to a deep river, and that on the banks of it he ſhould abide and aſſiſt the pilgrims who deſired to croſs the ſtream, a taſk which his ſize and ſtrength eaſily enabled him to perform. With girded loins and ſtaff in hand he plied his trade for ſome time, till one night he was ſummoned from this couch to perform this office for an infant. He placed him on his ſhoulders and plunged into the ſtream, but the waters roſe and ſimultaneouſly the weight of the child ſo much increaſed that it was not without ſtrenuous effort and the greateſt difficulty that he ſucceeded in reaching the oppoſite ſhore. His taſk performed, he placed the child on the bank, ſaying, "O child, thou haſt "put my life in great peril, and thy "weight is ſuch, that the weight "of the whole world could hardly "be greater." To whom the in-

fant replied—"Wonder not at the "weight, O Chriſtopher, for not "only haſt thou borne on thy "ſhoulders the whole world, but "Him alſo who created the world. "I am Chriſt, thy king, to whom "thou haſt rendered much ſervice; "and that thou mayeſt learn the truth "of what I tell thee, when thou re-"turneſt, plant thy ſtaff in the earth "beſide thy hut, and it will bloſſom "and bear fruit." With that he vaniſhed from ſight.[1]

The legend can hardly be rendered by the bruſh. The gigantic limbs of the ſaint ſeem needleſs to

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[1] The ſequel of the tale is ſoon told. The giant is converted, becomes a zealous Chriſtian warrior, is expoſed to all ſorts of temptations, and ends his life as a Chriſtian martyr, giving the beſt ſecurity of his ſincerity by forgiving his enemies and curing the blindneſs of the tyrant who doomed him to death.—VORAGINE, *Legenda Aurea*.

bear ſo ſlight a burden. There is no apparent proportion between the ſtrength put forth and the object to be attained. The ſubject is almoſt groteſque, the contraſt too great, between the Herculean members of the giant and the infantine dimenſions of the child.

The figure of the ſaint, his lower limbs immerſed in water, his ſtaff in his hand, is devoid of grace and dignity; nor is this fine freſco without other ſins than thoſe inherent to the ſubject. The lower limbs of the giant are ſmall in proportion to the ſize of his arms and ſhoulders. The head is too large, but it is in itſelf beautiful; it is turned towards the child. The legend would demand that the expreſſion of the features ſhould denote ſurpriſe and awe, if not terror. I can diſcover no indication of ſuch emotions. Regular features, rich colouring, and

flowing dark beard, denote "man-"hood in glory," and thoſe who have diſcovered more, have been guided rather by their imagination than by their eyes, and can hardly have interpreted the legend correctly.

The child, with his feet round the neck of the giant, holds the globe in one hand and ſigns a bleſſing with the other. The face is infantine, ſmiling and ſweet, with almoſt a playful expreſſion. His only garment is a white tunic, and a mantle floating above his head gives variety and balance to the compoſition. The bronzed and brawny legs of the giant are naked half-way up the thigh, his ſhirt is white, the veſt green, and green of a tone and hue that only a Venetian bruſh can render, the mantle is of a deep crimſon. Here the horizon is low, and the towers of Venice, with pardonable inaccuracy, appear in the diſ-

tance below the knees of the ſaint, while the water he is treading does not riſe higher than the ankle. The group is relieved againſt light and floating clouds; the tone of colour never has been ſurpaſſed, even by Titian. The hand of the reſtorer has never touched it. The remote and unfrequented poſition of this invaluable work has been its preſervation. In a few places the plaſter is diſcoloured and has fallen off, but not in quantities ſufficient to diſturb effect. Two iron cramps have been driven into the wall on each ſide of the figure, about the height of the knee, probably for the purpoſe of holding a torch, and a few ſpots of whitewaſh have fallen upon it from the pot of the zealous houſe-painter in cleaning the walls and roof.

Soon after this period we find a notice of the death of Titian's wife,

and the diſtreſs the loſs occaſioned him, with the conſequent interruption of his labours.

Mr. Rawdon Brown, in a viſit to Mantua, diſcovered a letter in the Ducal archives written by the agent of the Duke of Mantua at Venice to the Secretary Giacomo Calandra, dated Venice, Aug. 6, 1530, of which he made a copy; it contains this paſſage:

" Il noſtro maeſtro Ticiano è " tutto ſconſolato per la morte di ſua " moglie che fu ſepelita hieri. Lui " m' ha detto che per il travaglio in " che l' è ſtato per la infermità di " detta ſua moglie non ha potuto " lavorar al ritratto de la Signora " Cornelia nè al quadro de le nude " ch' el fa per noſtro illuſtriſſimo " Signore, qual ſerà una bella coſa, " et crede di averlo fornito per tutto " il preſente meſe.

" Eſſo Maeſtro Ticiano deſide-

" rava ſapper come il Signor noſtro
" è reſtato ben ſatisfatto del S. Se-
" baſtiano ben che el dica che ſia
" coſa da donzena al reſpetto de
" l' altro dono ch' el farà del quadro
" de le nude, et che ſolamente lo ha
" donato per un intertenimento, et
" per ſegno della ſervitù che porta
" a ſua Excellentia." [1]

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[1] Our painter, Titian, is in deep diſtreſs for the loſs of his wife, who was buried yeſterday. He tells me that, on account of the anxiety her illneſs has occaſioned him, he has been unable to work on the portrait of the Lady Cornelia, or on the picture of the naked women which he is painting for our illuſtrious maſter, which will be a beautiful work, and which he thinks will be finiſhed in the courſe of the preſent month.

The above painter, Titian, wiſhes to know if our maſter is pleaſed with the S. Sebaſtian which he has ſent him, although he ſays it is worthleſs in compariſon with the other picture of the naked women, which he will preſent to him, and which he has only ſent in token of his devotion and to amuſe him in the meantime.

I have ſearched in vain to diſcover what has been the fate of theſe pictures. The greater part of the Mantuan Gallery is now at Munich, but it contains no pictures anſwering to this deſcription.

Titian has painted the martyrdom of S. Sebaſtian more than once, and the Orleans gallery contained two beautiful pictures now in the collection at Bridgewater Houſe, either of which might anſwer the deſcription of the "nude" upon which Titian beſtowed ſo much care. I allude to the Baths of Diana, one in which ſhe puniſhes the temerity and indiſcretion of Acteon, the other in which ſhe diſcovers and expoſes the frailty of Caliſto.

The "Fede" by Titian in the Ducal palace.

Beſides the portraits of the Doges which were painted for the frieze round the Grand Council Chamber, it had been decreed in the reign of Andrea Gritti that the walls of the official apartments of the Ducal palace ſhould be hung with pictures illuſtrative of ſome feat of arms, or hiſtorical event, in which the different Doges had taken part.

It was a compliment to Titian's celebrity, that it was to him that this honourable commiſſion was offered. He accepted it, and thoſe great works which he produced were declared by contemporary judgment to have been worthy of the artiſt and the country.[1] All theſe

[1] At a much earlier period of his life we find Titian applying to the authorities for employ-

pictures unfortunately perished in the destructive fire of 1574, and were subsequently replaced by works of far inferior artists. The "Fede" alone escaped.

Doge Antonio Grimani died in 1523. He had been prosecuted as a state criminal, had been tried, con-

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ment in the Ducal palace. In a petition dated 1513, reproduced in fac-simile in Signor Lorenzi's valuable compilation, already quoted, he entreats to be allowed to fill a place in the great council chamber which had been avoided on account of its size and position by his predecessors, and not, he says, from cupidity or love of gain, but for the honour of serving his prince, and of leaving some memorial of himself in his native country.

The petition is curious in itself and is an interesting example of the simplicity of the age and of the modesty of its principal artists. I am much tempted to reproduce it *in extenso*, but I refrain, as the reader will find it at pages 157-8 of the "Monumenti," a magnificent volume which no library should be without, in which there is a compartment devoted to art and to topography.

demned and baniſhed, and it was not till extreme old age that he had been reconciled to his countrymen and raiſed to the Ducal throne. His enemies were no doubt ſtill numerous in the Senate, and a painful impreſſion of defeat and humiliation was connected with his name. Many of thoſe were ſtill living who had ſeen him land in chains on the Piazzetta and conducted as a man ſorely tainted to the ſtate priſons of the Ducal palace.

It was not till thirty-two years after his death, when theſe memories had faded away, and when his wealthy family had recovered all its influence, that the order was given to paint the picture illuſtrative of his life and ſervices. The ſubject was well choſen. He had been unfortunate as a commander and as a negociator, but his piety, fortitude, and patriotiſm had never deſerted

him, and the heavenly favour which was promiſed to him in a viſion had been his ſupport in adverſity.

The picture repreſents the viſion that had viſited his waking or ſlumbering eyes while on his melancholy return to his native city. The unpopular warrior, habited in the Ducal mantle and attended by a page bearing the inſignia of royalty beſide him, kneels in adoration and confidence before the figure of white-robed Faith bearing the croſs and chalice in her hands.

The compoſition is well balanced, and the figure of the Doge is finely coloured, though perhaps leſs happily conceived. The page in a crimſon mantle is uſeful as a contraſt in youthful grace and beauty, and in gorgeous colouring. Faith is heavy, her mantle is hard in outline and the ſhadows are opaque. The cherub balancing the foot of the croſs has

much of the grace that Titian invariably lends his children, but the halo round the allegoric figure is thick and gravelly, and does not recall the glorious effulgence in which the Virgin of the Assumption mounts to heaven. S. Mark, on one side of the picture, designed but not finished by Titian, is a noble figure, and balances and contrasts with the group of the Doge and his page.

This picture, so long delayed (to which circumstance we owe its preservation from the fire of 1574), was painted when Titian was in his seventy-ninth year. It does not denote the vigour and clearness of his earlier works, but if not a master-piece it is a noble ornament to the well-proportioned vestibule designed by Palladio from whence the ante-sala to the Senate Hall opens.

Tintoretto, born 1512, *died* 1594.

If Tintoretto were inferior to Titian in care, in compoſition, and in the ſcientific arrangement of his groups, he was perhaps his ſuperior in genius and not inferior as a colouriſt. With a rapidity of bruſh never equalled, and a vigour of imagination unſurpaſſed, he ſometimes rivalled the greateſt maſters of every ſchool in their varied excellences. His facility in compoſition prevented the poſſibility of manneriſm, and in his moſt careleſs and moſt haſty works the power of his genius is ſometimes moſt manifeſt.

He was a general favourite with his countrymen, and he rarely, if ever, abſented himſelf from his native city. Admirable as a portrait painter, and willing to lend his pencil to mere decoration, every patrician

houſe in Venice was full of his pictures; an anceſtor by Tintoretto long ornamented every ſaloon, and the churches of Venice are ſtill rich in his beſt works.

He ſeems to have been greatly patronized by the Brotherhood of S. Marco. Their albergo or gueſt-chamber contained ſome of his fineſt pictures, and many portraits of the Brotherhood in their rich ceremonial robes may ſtill be found in the apartments of the Academia, the Confraternity having been long ſuppreſſed. Their library, furniture, and pictures are diſperſed, and their beautiful Scuola, one of the fineſt works of the Lombardi, is now turned into an hoſpital.

In a confraternity of which S. Mark was the patron, the events of his life would naturally form favourite ſubjects for repreſentation. The far-famed "Schiavo," liberated by his ac-

tive intervention, was placed in the public gallery when reſtored to Venice in 1815, after its journey to Paris, and the "Rape of the body of S. Mark" found a place in the royal palace, where it ſtill may be ſeen.

The rape of the body of S. Mark took place in the year 828, and was a private enterpriſe conducted by two Venetian traders of the name of Bon of Malamocco and Ruſtico of Torcello. The body of S. Mark repoſed at Alexandria, in a ſhrine richly adorned with marbles; but here it was not deſtined to remain. When the two patriotic Venetians, Bon and Ruſtico, had landed in Egypt and proceeded, according to cuſtom, to offer up their devotions at the ſhrine of S. Mark, they were alarmed by hearing that the caliph had ſtripped the marbles from the mauſoleum to ornament his palace, and that the guardians of the ſepulchre feared a ſtill greater deſe-

cration. It was reſolved to avoid ſuch profanation by the ſpeedy removal of the body to a place of permanent ſecurity. All offers and entreaties having failed to induce the infidel governor to reſign the relics, the two ingenious Venetians had recourſe to ſtratagem. Their veſſel was anchored in the harbour near the city, and one ſtormy night they accompliſhed their purpoſe, and by a plan more ludicrous than edifying. They placed the ſacred relics on a car and covered them with ſides of bacon and ſubſtantial hams, thus preſenting nothing to the eyes of the Turks but the fleſh of the unclean animal which they abominated.

The Venetians had rightly calculated; all the true believers fled in every direction from the unctuous ſpectacle and left the gates unguarded, and thus enabled the pious robbers to reach their veſſel unſuſpected and

unpurſued. Such was the ſubject that Tintoretto was ordered to paint for the richeſt apartment of the Confraternity.

Unprepoſſeſſing as the ſubject was, the genius of Tintoretto overcame the difficulties; but it muſt be owned he has not ſucceeded in telling the ſtory ſo as to be intelligible. All that is revolting is eliminated from the repreſentation, and there is no trace of the fleſh of the hog which was really the principal means by which the rape was achieved. The ſcene of the robbery reſembles more the Piazza of S. Marco at Venice than a ſtreet in Alexandria; the action of the group ſurrounding the naked body denotes hurry and anxiety, as of men engaged in performing ſome deed in which interruption was dreaded. The body of the ſaint is preſerved from corruption, and appears like that of a man juſt cut off in all the vigour and come-

1568 adi 12 nouembrio in venetia

5

El se declara per el presente scrito come io iacomo tentoreto pitor promero depenzer agrotesche aguazo onero aolio come melio sara er desopra con paesi et figurete come fu portado el corpo de san marco in veneria er le connise dipinte di pietra bauda er le porte a marmori onero grotesche come melio sara er questo promero al magnifico uardian grando dela scola de miser san marco el signior tomaso da ravena degnisimo cavalier er dotor el qual mi da per sua cortesia ducati ommia per tal pagamento

er io iacomo feci di man propria

Recevi adon contonro-ducati 40———————

Jo. Fr. Emilio Baggio da Bassan fui presente a quanto
dispo. e scrito.

Jo Batista da Tolmo testimonio presente quanto e sopra scrito

1523

lineſs of youth. In the diſtance the Turks are ſeen flying beneath the arcades with a precipitation and a regularity which nothing in the repreſentation ſeems to warrant.

There is a ſketch for this picture, probably the firſt conception of the painter, in the gallery at Bruſſels. The ſubject is treated in a more imaginative ſtyle, and with a more daring bruſh; the body of the ſaint is enveloped in a ſhroud; the precipitationand alarm of the captors is more vividly pourtrayed. The ſpace is wider and leſs definitely ſketched, the clouds are lowering and heavy, flaſhes of forked lightning bring parts of the ſcene into lurid brightneſs, while that portion of it which it ſuited not the artiſt's plan to define is wrapped in congenial darkneſs. The ſcared and bewildered groups of Turks ſeem flying from the violence of the ſtorm; their flight is natural, and has none of

the concerted regularity which gives almoſt a comic turn to the finiſhed picture.

The picture was preſented by a certain Signor Tomaſo da Ravenna, a phyſician, and a brother of the Confraternity, for which, as we learn from the receipt, he paid eighty ducats.

The receipt is preſerved in the Venetian archives, and I ſubjoin a fac-ſimile of it, and alſo a printed tranſcript.

" 1568 adi 12 novembrio in Venetia.

" El ſe deciara per el preſente ſcri-
" to come io iacomo tentoreto pitor
" prometo depenzer agroteſche agua-
" zo overo aolio come melio ſtara et
" deſopra con paeſi et figurete come
" fu portado el corpo de ſan marco
" in venetia et le corniſe dipinte di
" pietra batuda et le porte a marmori
" overo groteſche come melio ſtara
" et queſto prometo al magnifico

" vardian grando dela ſcola de miſer
" ſan marco el ſignior tomaſo da rave-
" na degniſimo cavalier et dotor el
" qual mi da per ſua corteſia ducati
" otanta per tal pagamento.

" et io iacomo feci di man propria
" Recevi abon conconto ducati 40.

" Io p. Giulio Baggio da Baſſan fui pre-
" ſente a quanto di ſopra e ſcritto.

" Io batiſta da lolmo ſtraſarol foi prezente
" quanto e ſopra ſcritto."

It is to be remarked that, though Tintoretto received ſo ſmall a ſum for this fine picture, ten years later we find him paid at a much higher rate for the four pictures he painted in the anti-collegio in the Ducal palace, ſuperior, it may be, in finiſh and execution, if inferior in genius and imagination.

Paolo Veroneſe.[1]

Examination of Paolo Veroneſe before the Inquiſition for indecorum.

PAOLO VERONESE was the laſt of the great maſters who adorned the ſixteenth century at Venice, and whoſe works remain as the models which ſucceeding painters have vainly endeavoured to rival.

In him even is diſcernible a falling-off from his immediate predeceſſors; he has not the expreſſion nor the ſimplicity of Gian Bellino, the ſober grandeur of Titian's colouring, nor the creative genius of Tintoretto. Compared with theſe, he is but a painter of pageants and proceſſions, whoſe works are deſtined rather to

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[1] Born 1530, died 1588.

dazzle the eye than to touch the heart.

But his powers, nevertheleſs, are great, and within certain limits quite unſurpaſſed.

It is in the ſmall but beautifully proportioned anti-collegio mentioned in the laſt notice on Tintoretto that Paolo Veroneſe painted his "Rape "of Europa." It is needleſs in this place to diſcuſs the propriety, or even the meaning, of the two painters' choice of ſubjects;[1] but it muſt be obſerved that in this picture Paolo has reached his higheſt excellence, whether the ingenuity of telling his ſtory be conſidered, his power of expreſſion, his taſte in coſtume, the exuberance of his fancy in the acceſſories, or the gorgeous colours of his palette.

[1] The rape of Europa; Bacchus and Ariadne; Minerva rejecting Mars; The forge of Vulcan; and Mercury and the Graces.

All have admired this picture, many, probably, before the French carried it away to Paris, have felt an ardent longing to poſſeſs it, but no one, like the Duke of Buckingham in the ſeventeenth century, had the hardihood to make a direct application to the Venetian Senate that it ſhould be given to him. In the year 1624 Lord Deſmond left a note with Valareſſo, the Venetian Ambaſſador in London, running thus: "The "Duke of Buckingham deſireth by "any means poſſible to have certaine "pictures made by Paull Veroneſe "that are in a certaine rume or "paſſage towards the great library in "the palace of S. Marks at Venice."

The Senate was anxious to oblige the all-powerful favourite of the king of England, a poſitive refuſal was not at once given, but ſuch evaſive anſwers as delayed, at leaſt, a compliance with his wiſhes.

We have recently been fortunate enough to acquire for our National Gallery one of his fineſt and moſt intereſting pictures; yet the ſubject of the family of Darius at the feet of Alexander is one that demands more tenderneſs, more expreſſion, more delicacy of handling than he poſſeſſed. How would Raphael have treated this beautiful ſubject! how ingeniouſly he would have told the ſtory! We can figure to ourſelves the lofty humility of the mother of the fallen monarch, the grief and anguiſh of his children, the tenderneſs, the manly ſympathy, of the youthful conqueror, and the dejection of the Perſian dependents, diſplayed in every attitude of Oriental ſubmiſſion.

Paolo has preſented a ſcene of gay and gorgeous diſplay; numerous attendants are grouped together amidſt arcades and hanging gardens, buſied with their horſes, their dogs, their

parrots, and their monkeys, giving to the interview an air of feſtive gaiety, while the fair and well-fed ſuppliants of the harem, dreſſed in robes of ceremony and jewels in the richeſt ſetting, kneel with as little emotion as at an ordinary court ceremonial, and the youthful Alexander,[1] rich in coſtume and comely in features, receives their homage with as little unconcern as they evince in offering it.

This picture was deſtined to adorn a Venetian ball-room; but in ſubjects more ſerious Paolo was unable to reſtrain the exuberance of his fancy. The ſpirit of the age, however, was oppoſed to ſuch incongruous repreſentations, and we ſhall ſee that the painter narrowly eſcaped eccleſiaſtical cenſure for indulging in them.

The examination of Paolo before

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[1] Said to be a portrait of the young Piſani.

the Inquiſitors of Venice for the levity he permitted himſelf in treating ſacred ſubjects, proves the change that the Reformation had already worked in men's minds. Painters in the beginning of the century had introduced trivial and even ludicrous incidents into their moſt ſacred repreſentations. The good taſte of Raphael had avoided this incongruity; Giulio Romano had introduced halbardiers and dwarfs in his paintings in the Vatican itſelf; and Michel-Angelo in his "Laſt Judgment" had not only repreſented the moſt ſacred perſons totally unclothed, but had even indicated, by touches of ſatire, equally ludicrous and indecorous, the nature of the crimes for which he choſe to doom his perſonal enemies to puniſhment. It is true that this licence, though unnoticed in the pagan days of Julius and Leo, was afterwards condemned, and the pencil

of Daniel da Volterra was employed to clothe the naked, and to efface the glaring improprieties which had ſhocked the eyes of the auſtere Adrian of Utrecht and Paul IV.[1]

In the "Banquet of Levi," Paolo had permitted himſelf ſome licenſe; but the more offenſive ebullitions of his fancy which were condemned by the inquiſitors had been already effaced before he was ſummoned to appear in perſon at the awful tribunal. Indeed, I can hardly underſtand the prudery of theſe zealous critics. The picture repreſents one of the hiſtorical events recorded in Scripture. Levi was a publican, and there is no reaſon to ſuppoſe that any particular atmoſphere of ſanctity pervaded his dwelling; and though nothing can

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[1] The beautiful print of Martin Rota preſerves the picture as originally painted by Michel-Angelo.

be leſs like a ſcene in Jeruſalem in thoſe remote days than the magnificent atrium of a Palladian palace, in which the banquet is ſpread, there is nothing that ſhocks the moral taſte or the feelings; and the dwarfs, dogs, and parrots may be in better keeping with the habits of the hoſt than the Venetian coſtumes in which his gueſts are clothed, are to hiſtorical accuracy.

This curious document, containing the examination of Paolo Veroneſe before the inquiſitors, is preſerved in the archives at Venice. It has been publiſhed in a tranſlation in the "Revue des deux Mondes," and ſubſequently, I believe, in other periodical works, but the original has never been printed, and I now give it in all the quaint ſimplicity of the Venetian dialect, carefully tranſcribed from the document itſelf.

It is well known to the ſtudents

of Venetian hiſtory that the Roman Inquiſition was allowed little influence and ſtill leſs power in the States of the Signory, and its proceedings were cloſely watched, even in matters admitted to be within its juriſdiction. Its ſittings were always attended by lay members ſelected from the Senate, to regulate and report its proceedings.

The ſittings of the Holy Office were held in the chapel of S. Theodore, fronting the door leading from S. Mark's Church to the Fondamenta di Canonica.

"Die Sabbati 18 menſis Julii 1573
"conſtitutus in ſancto officio coram
"ſacro Tribunali Dominus Paulus
"Caliarius Veronenſis pictor habi-
"tator in parochia Sancti Samuelis
"et interrogatus de nomine et cog-
"nomine?
"*Reſpondit. ut ſupra.*
"Interrogatus de profeſſione ſua?

" *Reſpondit.* Io depingo et fazzo
" delle figure.
" *Ei dictum.* Sapete la cauſa perchè
" ſete conſtituito?
" *Reſpondit.* Sig^r no.
" *Ei dictum.* Potete imaginarla?
" *Reſpondit.* Imaginar mi poſſo
" ben.
" *Ei dictum.* Dite quel che vi ima-
" ginate.
" *Reſpondit.* Per quello, che mi fu
" detto dalli Rev^di Padri, cioè il
" Priore de S. Zuane polo, del
" qual non ſo il nome, il qual mi
" diſſe, che l' era ſtato qui et che
" Voſtre Signorie Illuſtriſſime gli
" haveva dato commiſſion che 'l
" doveſſe far far la Maddalena in
" luogo de un can, et mi ghe
" riſpoſi, che volentiera haveria
" fatto quello et altro per honor
" mio et del quadro, ma che non
" ſentiva che tal figura della Mad-
" dalena podeſſe zazer che la ſteſſe

" bene, per molte ragioni, le quali
" dirò ſempre che mi ſia dato
" occaſion che le poſſa dir.
" *Ei dictum.* Che quadro è queſto
" che avete nominato?
" *Reſpondit.* Queſto è un quadro
" della cena ultima che fece Gieſù
" Chriſto con li ſuoi Apoſtoli in
" ca de Simeon.[1]
" *Ei dictum.* Dove è queſto quadro?
" *Reſpondit.* In refettorio delli Frati
" di S. Zuanne polo.
" *Ei dictum.* Ello in muro, in taola,
" o in tela?
" *Reſpondit.* In tela.
" *Ei dictum.* Quanti piedi ello alto?
" *Reſpondit.* El puol eſſer 17 piedi.
" *Ei dictum.* Quanto ello largo?
" *Reſpondit.* Da 39 in circa.

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[1] " And Levi made him a great feaſt in his own houſe; and there was a great company of publicans and of others that ſat down with him."—*Luke* iii. 29.

" *Ei dictum.* A queſta Cena del Signor
" gli avete depento miniſtri?
" *Reſpondit.* Monſignor sì.
" *Ei dictum.* Dite quanti miniſtri, et
" li effetti che fa ciaſcun di loro?
" *Reſpondit.* El patron dell' albergo
" Simon oltra queſto ho fatto ſotto
" queſta figura un ſcalco, il qual
" ho finto chel ſia venuto per ſuo
" diporto a veder come vanno le
" coſe della tola. *Deinde ſubiun-*
" *xit* ghe ſono molte figure le
" quali per eſſer molto, che ho
" meſſo ſuſo il quadro non me
" lo ricordo.
" *Ei dictum.* Havete dipinte altre
" cene che quella?
" *Reſpondit.* Signor sì.
" *Ei dictum.* Quante ne havete di-
" pinte et in che luogo?
" *Reſpondit.* Ne fece una in Verona
" alli Reverendi Monaci de S.
" Lazar, la qual è nel ſuo reffet-
" torio. *Dixit* ne ho fatto una

" nel Refettorio dilli R. Padri di
" S. Zorzi qui in Venetia.
" *Li fu detto.* Queſta non è cena,[1] ve
" ſi domanda della cena del Signor.
" *Reſpondit.* Ne ho fatto una nel
" Refettorio di Servi di Venetia,
" et una nel Refettorio di S. Se-
" baſtian qui in Venetia. Et ne
" ho fatto una in Padoa ai Padri
" della Maddalena, et non mi
" ricordo di haverne fatte de altre.[2]

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[1] On the picture about which he was examined in the refectory of the Convent of S. Giovanni e Paolo, repreſenting the ſupper in the houſe of Levi, there is a cotemporary inſcription in large letters—

" Fecit D. Govi Magnu Levi Lucæ cap. V.
" A.D. MDLXXIII Die XX Apr. +."

[2] " Dipinſe Paolo cinque gran tele rappre-
" ſentanti convitti, cioè: 1. Le nozze di Cana,
" ch' erano in S. Giorgio Maggiore, ed ora a
" Parigi.—2. Il convito in caſa di Simone
" Fariſeo ch' era in queſto convento di S.
" Sebaſtiano ed ora è nella Raccolta di Brera

" *Ei dictum.* In queſta cena, che
" havete fatto a S. Giovanni Paulo,
" che ſignifica la pittura di colui
" che li eſce il ſangue del naſo?
" *Reſpondit.* L' ho fatto per un ſervo
" che per qualche accidente li poſſa
" eſſer venuto il ſangue del naſo.
" *Ei dictum.* Che ſignifica quelli
" armati alla Thodeſca veſtiti

" in Milano.*—3. Il convito medeſimo, ma
" con differente invenzione, che era a' Serviti,
" e fu donato a Luigi XIV.—4. Il convito di
" Levi, ch' era nel convento de' SS. Gio-
" vanni e Paolo, ed ora all' Accademia.—5.
" Il convito di S. Gregorio Magno ch' è alla
" Madonna del Monte a Vicenza."

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* " Queſto quadro tornato da Parigi ove era traſpor-
" tato fin dal 1797 cogli altri noſtri ora ſi vede nella
" Pinacoteca di Brera in Milano in luogo dell' altro
" dello ſteſſo Paolo rappreſentante il convito dato ai
" poveri da S. Gregorio Magno, che dal Refettorio de'
" Padri della Madonna del Monte di Vicenza era ſtato
" portato a Milano, e che fu reſtituito alla Madonna
" del Monte col patto che l' Accademia di Venezia
" compenſaſſe la Pinacoteca di Milano con altro quadro
" che fu appunto il convito Fariſeo ch' era in S. Sebaſ-
" tiano."

" con una lambarde per una in
" mano?
" *Reſpondit.* E 'l fa biſogno, che dica
" quì vinti parole.
" *Ei dictum.* Che 'l dica.
" *Reſpondit.* Nui pittori ſi pigliamo
" licentia, che ſi pigliano i poeti
" et i matti, et ho fatta quelli dui
" alabardieri uno che beve, et
" l'altro che magna, appreſſo una
" ſcala morta i quali ſono meſſi
" là, che poſſino far qualche officio,
" parendomi conveniente, ch 'l pa-
" tron della caſa ch' era grande e
" richo ſecondo che mi è ſtato
" detto doveſſe haver tal ſervitori.
" *Ei dictum.* Quel veſtito da buffon
" con il papagalo in pugno, a che
" effetto l' havete depento in quel
" telaro?
" *Reſpondit.* Per ornamento, come
" ſi fa.
" *Ei dictum.* Alla tavola del Signor
" chi vi ſono?

" *Reſpondit.* Li dodici Apoſtoli.
" *Ei dictum.* Che effetto fa S. Pietro,
" che è il primo?
" *Reſpondit.* E 'l ſquarta l' agnelo per
" darlo all' altro capo della tola.
" *Ei dictum.* Che effetto fa l'altro che
" li è appreſſo?
" *Reſpondit.* L' ha un piato per ricever
" quel che li darà S. Pietro.
" *Ei dictum.* Dite l' effetto che fa
" l' altro ch' è appreſſo queſto?
" *Reſpondit.* L' è uno che ha un piron
" che ſi cura i denti.
" *Ei dictum.* Chi credete voi vera-
" mente che ſi trovaſſe in quella
" cena?
" *Reſpondit.* Credo che ſi trovaſſero
" Chriſto con li ſuoi Apoſtoli, ma
" ſe nel quadro li avanza ſpacio
" io l' adorno di figure ſecondo le
" inventioni.
" *Ei dictum.* Se da alcuna perſona
" vi è ſtato commeſſo che voi
" dipengeſte in quel quadro

" Thodeſchi et buffoni et ſimil
" coſe?
" *Reſpondit.* Sig^r^ no; ma la com-
" miſſion fu di ornar il quadro
" ſecondo mi pareſſe, il quale è
" grande et capace di molte figure
" ſi come a me pareva.
" *Ei dictum.* Se li ornamenti che lui
" pittore è ſolito di fare d' intorno
" le pitture o quadri ſolito di fare
" convenienti et proportionati alla
" materia et figure principali, o
" veramente a beneplacito ſecondo
" che li viene in fantaſia ſenza
" alcuna diſcrittione et giuditio?
" *Reſpondit.* Io fazzo le pitture con
" quella conſideration ch' è con-
" veniente, che 'l mio intelletto
" può capire.
" *Interrogatus.* Se li par conveniente
" che alla cena ultima del Signore
" ſi convenga depingere buffoni,
" imbriachi, Thodeſchi, nani et
" ſimili ſcurrilità?

" *Respondit.* Signor no.
" *Interrogatus.* Perchè dunque l' ha-
" vete dipinto?
" *Respondit.* L' ho fatto perchè pre-
" ſuppono che queſti ſieno fuori
" del luoco dove ſi fa la cena.
" *Interrogatus.* Non ſapete voi che
" in Alemagna et altri lochi in-
" fetti di hereſia ſogliano con le
" pitture diverſe et piene di ſcur-
" rilità et ſimili inventioni dili-
" gere, vituperare, et far ſcherno
" delle coſe della ſanta Chieſa
" Catholica per inſegnar mala
" dottrina alle genti idiote et igno-
" ranti?
" *Respondit.* Sig^r sì, che l' è male;
" ma perchè tornerò anchora quel
" che ho ditto, che ho obbligo di
" ſeguir quel che hanno fatto li
" miei maggiori.
" *Ei dictum.* Che anno fatto i voſtri
" maggiori? hanno fatto forſe coſa
" ſimile?

" *Reſpondit.* Michel-Agnolo in Roma:
" drento la capella Pontifical vi è
" depento il noſtro Signor Jeſù
" Chriſto, la ſua madre et S.
" Zuanne S. Piero et la Corte
" Celeſte, le quale tutte ſono fatte
" nude dalla Vergine Maria in
" poi, con atti diverſi con poca
" reverentia.
" *Ei dictum.* Non ſapete voi che de-
" pengendo il giuditio univerſale
" nel quale non ſi preſume veſtiti,
" o ſimil coſe, non occorreva di-
" pinger veſte et in quelle figure
" non vi è coſa ſe non di ſpirito,
" non vi ſono baffoni, nè cani, nè
" arme, nè ſimili buffonarie? Et
" ſe li pare per queſto o per qual-
" unque altro eſempio di haver
" fatto bene di haver dipinto
" queſto quadro in quel modo che
" ſta et ſe 'l vol defendere che 'l
" quadro ſtia bene et condecente-
" mente?

" *Reſpondit.* Sig^r Illuſtriſſimo no che
" non lo voglio defender, ma pen-
" ſava di far bene, et che non ho
" conſiderato tante coſe. Pen-
" ſando di non far deſordine niſ-
" ſuno tanto più che quelle figure
" de buffoni ſono di fuora del
" luogo dove è il noſtro Signore.

" Quibus habitis, Domini decre-
" verunt ſupradictum Dominum
" Paulum teneri et obligatum
" eſſe ad corrigendum et emendan-
" dum picturam de qua in con-
" ſtituto arbitrio Sacri Tribunalis
" infra terminum trium menſium
" connumerandorum a die pre-
" fixionis correctionis faciende
" juxta arbitrium predictum Sacri
" Tribunalis connumerandorum
" ſuis expenſis cum commina-
" tione ſub penis ſacri Tribunalis
" imponendis. Et ita decreverunt
" omni meliori modo."

Ex tergo. Contra Magiſtrum Paulum Veronenſem Pictorem, 1573. Eſiſtente nella Buſta Proceſſi, N. 33, dall' anno 1572, all' anno 1573, appartenente all'archivio del Santo Ufficio preſſo l' archivio generale di Venezia.

Tranſlation.

Examination of Paolo Veroneſe before the Inquiſition at Venice, on the 18th of July, 1573.

Aſked his name and profeſſion.

A. I invent and draw figures.

Q. Do you know the reaſon why you have been ſummoned?

A. No, my lord.

Q. Can you imagine it?

A. I can imagine it.

Q. Tell us what you imagine.

A. For the reaſon which the Reverend Prior of SS. Giovanni and Paolo, whoſe name I know not,

told me, that he had been here, and that your illuſtrious lordſhips had given him orders that I ſhould ſubſtitute the figure of the Magdalen for that of a dog, and I replied that I would willingly have done this or any thing elſe for my own credit and the advantage of the picture, but that I did not think the figure of the Magdalen would be fitting, or would look well for many reaſons, which I will always aſſign whenever the opportunity is given me.

Q. What picture is that which you have named?

A. It is the picture repreſenting the laſt ſupper that Jeſus Chriſt took with his diſciples in the houſe of Simon.[1]

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[1] It is ſingular that Paolo ſhould have made this miſtake. The picture repreſents the banquet at the houſe of Levi, and not the

Q. Where is this picture?

A. In the Refectory of the Friars of SS. Giovanni and Paolo.

Q. Is it painted on the wall, on panel or on cloth?

A. On cloth.

Q. How many feet is it in height?

A. It is about ſeventeen feet.

Q. How wide?

A. About thirty-nine feet.

Q. In this Supper of our Lord have you painted any attendants?

A. Yes, my lord.

Q. Say how many attendants and what each is doing.

A. Firſt, the maſter of the houſe, Simon, beſides, I have placed below him a ſewer, who I have ſuppoſed to have come for his own amuſement to ſee the arrangement of the table.

Laſt Supper. The inſcription, with a reference to the Goſpel of St. Luke recording the event, is painted on the picture itſelf.

There are beſides ſeveral others, which, as there are many figures in the picture, I do not recollect.

Q. Have you painted other banquets beſide this?

A. Yes, my lord.

Q. How many have you painted, and in what places?

A. I painted one in Verona for the Reverend Monks of S. Lazarus, which is in the Refectory. I have done one in the Refectory of the reverend Fathers of S. George, here in Venice.

It was obſerved to him that this was not a ſupper: *Q.* We aſk you of the Suppers of our Lord?

A. I have done one in the Refectory of the Servites at Venice, and one in the Refectory of S. Sebaſtian, here in Venice; and I have done one in Padua for the Fathers of the Magdalen, and I do not remember that I have done any others.

Q. In this ſupper which you have done in SS. Giovanni and Paolo, what does that figure mean, the man going away with a bleeding noſe?[1]

A. I intended it for a ſervant who from ſome accident is bleeding at the noſe.

Q. What is the meaning of thoſe men dreſſed in the German faſhion, each with a halbert in his hand?

A. It is now neceſſary that I ſhould ſay a few words.

The Court: Say on.

A. We painters take the ſame licence that is permitted to poets and jeſters; I have placed thoſe two halbardiers, the one eating, the other drinking by the ſtaircaſe, to be ſuppoſed ready to perform any duty that may be required of them; it

[1] The action of this figure has been changed. I ſuppoſe it muſt have been the man half ſeen deſcending the ſtairs on the left, who holds a white cloth or handkerchief in his hand.

appearing to me quite fitting that the maſter of ſuch a houſe, who was rich and great, as I have been told, ſhould have ſuch attendants.

Q. That fellow dreſſed like a buffoon, with the parrot on his wriſt, for what purpoſe is he introduced into the canvas?

A. For ornament, as is uſually done.

Q. At the table of the Lord whom have you placed?

A. The twelve Apoſtles.

Q. What is Saint Peter doing, who is the firſt?

A. He is cutting up a lamb to ſend to the other end of the table.

Q. What is he doing who is the next to him?

A. He is holding a plate to receive what S. Peter will give him.

Q. Tell us what is he doing who is next to this laſt?

A. He is uſing a fork as a toothpick.

Q. Who do you really think were preſent at that ſupper?

A. I believe Chriſt and his Apoſtles were preſent; but in the foreground of the picture I have placed figures for ornament of my own invention.

Q. Were you commiſſioned by any perſon to paint Germans, and buffoons, and ſuch-like things in this picture?

A. No, my Lord; my commiſſion was to ornament the picture as I judged beſt, which, being large, requires many figures, as it appears to me.

Q. Are the ornaments that the painter is in the habit of introducing in his freſcoes and pictures ſuited and fitting to the ſubject and to the principal perſons repreſented, or does he really paint ſuch as ſtrike his own fancy without exerciſing his judgment or his diſcretion?

A. I deſign my pictures with all

due conſideration as to what is fitting, and to the beſt of my judgment.

Aſked. Does it appear to you fitting that at our Lord's laſt ſupper,[1] you ſhould paint buffoons, drunkards, Germans, dwarfs, and ſimilar indecencies?

A. No, my lord.

Q. Why, then, have you painted them?

A. I have done it becauſe I ſuppoſed that theſe were not in the place where the ſupper was ſerved.

Q. Are you not aware that in Germany and in other places infected with hereſy, they are in the habit of painting pictures full of ſcurrility for the purpoſe of ridiculing and degrading the Holy Church, and thus teaching falſe doctrines to the ignorant and fooliſh?

[1] It is ſtrange that the inquiſitor ſhould have fallen into the ſame miſtake, and have confounded the banquet of Levi with the Laſt Supper!

A. Yes, my lord, it is bad; but I return to what I ſaid before; I thought myſelf obliged to do as others—my predeceſſors—had done before me.

Q. And have your predeceſſors, then, done ſuch things?

A. Michel-Angelo, in the Papal Chapel in Rome, has painted our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, his mother, S. John, and S. Peter, and all the Court of Heaven, from the Virgin Mary downwards, all naked, and in various attitudes, with little reverence.

Q. Do you not know that in a painting like the Laſt Judgment, where drapery is not ſuppoſed, dreſſes are not required, and that diſembodied ſpirits only are repreſented? but there are neither buffoons, nor dogs, nor armour, nor any other abſurdity. And does it not appear to you that neither by this nor any other example you have done right in painting the

picture in this manner, and that it can be proved right and decent?

A. Illuſtrious Lord, I do not defend it, but I thought I was doing right. I had not conſidered all theſe things, never intending to commit any impropriety, the more ſo as theſe figures of buffoons are not ſuppoſed to be in the ſame place where our Lord is.

The injunctions of the Holy Office were only partially obeyed; the "bleeding noſe" was retrenched, but the dog remains with the dwarf, the parrot and "the Germans," nor can I diſcover that Paolo materially altered his ſtyle of compoſition in conſequence of theſe remonſtrances, nor that he was more inclined for the future to check the exuberance of his fancy even when treating the moſt ſacred ſubjects.

FINIS.

APPENDIX.

DURING my laſt ſtay in Venice a curious receipt of Tintoretto was offered to me for ſale.

It was an acknowledgment of the payment for two pictures painted by him for the Da Mula family. The ſtipulations are minute and preciſe, both as to the ſubject, the method of treatment, and the number of figures to be introduced into each picture.

Of the pictures themſelves I have been unable to diſcover any trace, nor of the ſeven portraits painted by the ſame artiſt of members of the

Da Mula family, mentioned in this receipt.

All the poſſeſſions of the Da Mula family have been alienated, and even their hereditary manſion has been ſold to the ſtranger.

" Siando convenuto in marchado
" m. Jacomo tintareto depentor con
" el cl^mo m Je^mo da mula dig^mo pro-
" curator per el preſente ſcritto ſi di-
" chiara, che dito m Jacomo ſia obli-
" gato e cuſi promete de far dui quadri
" nela camera granda, luno con la
" iſtoria del lazaro reſuſitado et laltro
" con la iſtoria de moiſe, neli qual
" tutti do iſtorie li ſia figure uinti per
" cadauno de eſi, et retratti che uano
" ſopra le porte dele camere n° ſete, le
" qual opere ſia fate a uſo de el mae-
" ſtro cō colori finii et azuri oltra
" marinj[1] da eſſer indicatti de ogni

[1] *Ultramarine* was at that time very dear,

" ecelenzia per fatura deli qual nuove
" quadri finiti che ſaranno et nel
" modo ſopra ditto, ſua Sig^ria cl^ma li
" contera duc ſitanta per ſua fattura,
" dichiarando, ch el dito m. Jacomo
" ſia obligato dar ditti quadri finiti
" p. tempo di dui meſi, tanto che per
" li XV de april ſiano finiti del tutto
" et cuſi eſo m Jacomo promete et
" ſotoſcriuera el ms ſcrito, e non li
" dagando in ditto tempo, che ſua
" Sig^ria cl^ma non ſia obligatto a coſa
" niſſuna. In V ali 6 de feuer 1572.
" Si dechiara ch el ditto m. Jacomo
" fara far lui alle s ſpeſe li telaj deli
" ſopra ditti quadri, dichiarando che
" nele ſopraditte due iſtorie la una
" della reſurecion đ lazaro et laltra
" dela leze che ebe moiſe al monte li
" abia fra tutti do figure 40 acomo-

and artiſts were in the habit of uſing an imitation of the colour, which ſoon turned black and ſpoilt the picture. Hence the ſtipulation in the receipt.

" date nel modo che eſo al cl maeſtro
" li parera.

" Io iacomo tentoreto afermo et
" prometo quanto ut ſupra avi dito.

" R io iacomo ſopra dito a bon
" conto d 20 ual ducati vinti.

" io iacomo tintorito pr queſto
" ſaldo del ſopra dito ſcrito.

" dili ſopraditi quadri ducati 25
" V^i d^i vinti cinque adi 11 zugnio."

LETTERS OF THE BONAPARTE FAMILY.

FROM THE ORIGINALS IN THE AUTOGRAPH COLLECTION OF

BARON HEATH.

1. Letter addreſſed to the Chef de B^de^ Savary, dated 26^th^ Meſſidor, an 8 de la République (15th July, 1800), ſigned Bonaparte.

2. *Autograph* letter to his wife Joſéphine, dated Aras (*ſic*) 11^me^ fructidor (29th Auguſt, 1804).

3. Diſpatch directed to the Marſhal commanding the French army at Jéna, dictated to Savary by the Emperor Napoleon I., and ſigned by him, 13th October, 1806.

4. Letter to Joſeph Bonaparte, Comte de Survilliers, to Meſſrs. Leroy, Bayard, and Co., New York, 23rd Auguſt, 1823.

5. Letter of the ſame to his brother Louis Bonaparte, Comte de St. Leu. London, 4th December, 1836.

6. Letter of the ſame to the ſame. London, 15th May, 1838.

7. Jerome, King of Weſtphalia. Letter to his brother Lucien, Prince of Canino. Caſſel, 22nd January, 1809.

8. Letter, *Autograph*, of Madame Letizia Bonaparte, Paris, 27 Nivoſe, ſtyled Madame Mère, mother of Napoleon I.

9. Letter of Eliſa Bacciocchi, Princeſs of Piombino, eldeſt ſiſter of Napoleon I., to her mother, Madame Letizia. Marlia, 28th March, 1811.

10. Letter of Marie Pauline, Princeſs Borgheſe, ſecond ſiſter of Napoleon I., to Monſignor Cuneo, at Rome.

11. Letter of Napoleon III. (Prince Napoleon Louis Bonaparte) to his father Louis, Count of St. Leu. Arenenberg, 5th June, 1834.

12 and 13. Letters of the ſame to Mons[r] Lombard at Paris. London, 5th October, 1839.

14. Letter of the ſame to Mons[r] Thayer. Ham, 9th January, 1841.

15. Letter of Mons[r] Jal, hiſtoriographe de la Marine, to Mons[r] Buchon, 24, Rue de la Victoire. Paris, 29th April, 1837.

16. Note of the Empreſs Maria Louiſa to the Baron de Weſſemberg. 18th April, 1815.

17. Letter of Hortenſe, Queen of Holland, to M[me] la Maréchale Ney, Princeſſe de la Moſkowa. 31ſt October, 1833.

18. Letter of the Prince Eugène Beauharnais to the Emperor Napoleon I. Verona, 22nd November, 1813.

LETTERS OF THE BONAPARTE FAMILY.

I.

Paris, le 26[1] *Meſſidor, An* 8 *de la République.*

Au Chef de B^de^. Savary,

VOUS partirez demain, Citoyen, pour Milan. Vous prendrez chez le Directeur du tréſor public un million, partie en or, partie en lettres de change. Vous verſerez cet argent dans la caiſſe du Payeur de l'armée à Milan.

Vous me rapporterez l'Etat de ſituation de l'armée et de l'organiſation qu'elle a reçue, ainſi que celui du nombre de pièces attachées. Vous

[1] 15 July, 1800.

verrez à cet effet le Chef de l'Etat major et le commandant de l'Artillerie. Vous viſiterez à votre retour les citadelles de Milan, Cortonne, Alexandrie, Turin. Vous prendrez note des approviſionnements qui ſe trouvent dans les places, de l'organiſation de l'Artillerie, de l'Etat major et enfin de tout ce qui peut m'éclairer ſur la ſituation véritable de l'Italie.

Vous aurez ſoin de voir à Milan et à Pavie ſ'il y a beaucoup d'Artillerie à évacuer ſur les derrières et ſi les mines ſont prêtes pour faire ſauter le Chateau de Milan.

BONAPARTE.

II.

Aras le Mercredi, 11 *fructidor*, 29 *Août*, 1804.

Madame et chère femme,

JE viens d'arriver à Arras. J'y ſéjournerai demain, je ſerai Vendredi à Mons, Dimanche à Aix la

Chapelle. Je ſuis ſatisfait de ma route autant que je l'ai eté de l'armée. Je crois que je paſſerai par Bruxelles ſans m'y arrêter; de là j'irai à Maeſtricht. J'ai quelque impatience de vous voir. J'ai appris avec plaiſir que vous avez confirmé les eaux; elles ne peuvent que vous faire du bien. Ma ſanté eſt bonne; Eugène ſe porte bien et eſt avec moi.

Mille choſes aimables partout.

Signé BONAPARTE.

III.

13 *Oct.*, 1806.

MONS^R. le Maréchal partira ſur le champ pour aller à la rencontre des Généraux Nantſoutz et d'Hautpoul et du Gen^al. Klein. Il leur donnera l'ordre d'être rendu le plutôt poſſible à Roda,[1] petite ville à moitié chemin d'Auma[2] à Jéna.

[1] Eight miles from Jéna.
[2] In Saxe Weimar.

Il leur fera connaitre que ſi ils entendent le canon du coté de Jéna ils preſſent leur marche et qu'ils envoyent des officiers pour prévenir de leur arrivée—à meſure qu'il rencontrera une diviſion il m'expédiera un officier avec un rapport détaillé qui faſſe connaitre le lieu où il a rencontré la diviſion, l'état où elle ſe trouve et l'heure à laquelle elle ſera rendue à Roda.

NAPOLÉON.

L'Empereur ſera à midi à Jéna. Il montrera le préſent ordre aux Généraux qui leur ſervira d'autoriſation.

IV.

Lettre de Joſeph, Comte de Survilliers, à Meſſieurs Leroy, Bayard, & C^ie. New York.

New York, 23 *Août*, 1823.
A Meſſieurs Leroy, Bayard, et C^ie.

Meſſieurs,

Je n'ai pas reçu votre lettre du 19, j'ai celle d'aujourd'hui.

Le gros brilliant peut être vendu trois milles livres ; l'autre ne doit pas être vendu iſolément à moins de mille: à moins que les acheteurs n'exigent les deux enſemble pour £3500. Cependant ſi l'on peut ne vendre que le premier pour trois milles livres et garder et le blanc et le Roſe pour être vendus lorſque l'occaſion ſ'en préſentera, cela ſerait préférable. Toutefois vous pouvez accepter l'offre des £3500 pour les deux brilliants,

ſi vos correſpondants ne peuvent mieux faire.

Agréez, Meſſieurs, &c., &c., &c.

JOSEPH,
Comte de Survilliers.

V.

Lettre de Joſeph Bonaparte, Comte de Survilliers, à Louis Bonaparte, C^te. de S^t. Leu.

Londres, 4 *Déc^re.* 1836.

Mon cher frère,

JE vais renouveller ton affliction en t'envoyant la copie de la lettre de ton fils, mais je crois de mon devoir de ne rien te laiſſer ignorer dans cette triſte circonſtance. Il paraitrait qu'il ſ'eſt engagé à ne plus retourner en Europe—que c'eſt bien à *Arenenberg* ſeulement qu'a été conçue cette folle tentative qui pouvait

nous compromettre tous, puiſqu'on l'appelait déjà du nom *Bonapartiſte*. Nous voulions démentir authentiquement une telle déſignation, mais la crainte d'accroître encore ta douleur nous a fait renoncer à toute manifeſtation publique. Mon établiſſement aux Etats Unis eſt trop conſidérable, non en revenus, mais en objets de luxe et d'agrément, pour convenir à ton fils à moins qu'Hortenſe l'y joignit, et qu'il lui convint, ce dont ni toi ni moi ne devons, je penſe, nous inquiéter aujourd'hui.

Caroline nous cenſure à gorge déployée. Nous avons reçu des lettres de beaucoup de nos amis qu'elle ſait très bien ſéduire. Moi j'y ai perdu mon latin et même mon Français. On ne peut guères entrer dans des détails qui intéreſſent peu ſes auditeurs à Paris ; je ne ſuis pas en meſure de répondre par des arguments de la même eſpèce, et ſes auditeurs, qu'elle

conſtitue mes juges, aiment mieux l'en croire ſur parole. Dis moi ce que tu en penſes et crois moi ton ami et frère

JOSEPH.

Suit copie de la lettre de Louis Napoléon Bonaparte.

Copie.

Lorient, le 15 *O^bre.* 1836.

Mon cher Oncle,

Vous aurez appris avec ſurpriſe l'évènement de *Straſbourg*. Lorſqu'on ne réuſſit pas, on dénature vos intentions, on vous calomnie, on eſt ſûr d'être blamé, même par les ſiens, auſſi n'eſſayerai-je pas aujourd'hui de me diſculper à vos yeux. Je pars demain pour *l'Amérique*. Vous me feriez plaiſir de m'envoyer quelques lettres de recommendation pour Phi-

ladelphie et New York—envoyez moi à mon adreſſe poſte reſtante à New York. Ayez la bonté de préſenter mes reſpects à mes oncles et de recevoir l'expreſſion de mon ſincere attachement. En quittant l'Europe, *peutêtre pour toujours*, j'éprouve le plus grand chagrin en penſant que, même dans ma famille, je ne trouverai perſonne qui plaigne mon ſort. Adieu, mon cher Oncle, ne doutez jamais de mes ſentiments à votre égard.

Votre neveu,
NAPOLÉON LOUIS BONAPARTE.

Ayez la bonté de faire ſavoir à votre Chargé d'Affaires en Amérique, quelles ſeraient les terres que vous conſentiriez à vendre.

VI.

Lettre de Joſeph Bonaparte, C^te^. de Survilliers, à ſon frère Louis, C^te^. de S^t^. Leu.

Londres, 15 *Mai*, 1838.

Mon cher frère,

Il y a longtemps que je m'attendais à apprendre par une communication directe de ta part, ſi je devais accorder ou refuſer ma croyance aux bruits qui ont couru ſur ton mariage. Aujourd'hui *Charlotte* m'en parle par ſa lettre du 3. Elle m'annonce en même temps ton départ pour Piſe, un peu indiſpoſé. Ton bonheur me parait avoir été la ſeule conſidération qui a dominé l'opinion de ta belle-fille; pourrai-je en avoir d'autre? et qui en eſt meilleur juge que toi? Cet évènement ſi bien dans tes goûts et dans tes mœurs et ſelon les déſirs de ton cœur ſi bon, ſi tendre et ſi

aimant, n'arrive-t-il pas trop tard? Ta ſanté n'en ſerait-elle pas trop promptement altérée? Voici l'état de la queſtion. Tu en ſeras plus heureux que dans l'iſolement où tu as vécu depuis ſi longtemps, je n'en doute pas. Si tu ſens moins que moi le poids de l'age, tu n'auras pas tort de ſaiſir le peu de bonheur qui peut te reſter, à la fin d'une vie ſi agitée; tel que je me trouve, je me contenterais de terminer ma vie dans une quiétude plus iſolée. Tu es plus jeune que moi et je me garderai bien de condamner dans toi ce que je ne penſe pas que je ferais ſi j'étais dans ton cas et dans mes circonſtances d'age et même de ſanté. Si tu te décides au mariage, je ne ſaurai aſſez te rappeler qu'à ton age tu dois y chercher moins les tranſports d'autrefois, que le bonheur d'une ſociété bonne, douce, remplie de toutes les heureuſes qualités qu'on accorde

généralement à la perſonne qui mérite ta recherche. Perſonne ne ſera plus heureux que moi de votre bonheur, ſi vous pouvez le prolonger auſſi longtemps que le déſire le frère et l'ami pour lequel ton affection ne ſ'eſt jamais démentie à tous les ages et à toutes les fortunes heureuſes et malheureuſes de notre longue vie.

Je t'embraſſe bien cordialement.

Ton affectionné ami
et tendre frére
JOSEPH.

VII.

Lettre de Jérome, roi de Weſtphalie, à ſon frère Lucien Bonaparte.

MON cher frère, je reçois votre lettre du 1^er^. Janvier. Je ne puis vous dire, mon bon Lucien, combien il m'en coute de penſer que vous avez l'idée que votre bon Jérome n'a pas eu de confiance dans votre ſignature. Si

vous ſaviez à quel point je ſuis obligé de chercher des expédients pour faire face aux dépenſes des *Budgets* des différents Chefs de Service. Vous ſeriez convaincu que pour que je me laiſſe demander ce que *Lucien* déſire, il faut que je ſois dans l'impoſſibilité de l'offrir; ce qui me rendrait ſi heureux. Vous ne croiriez peut-être pas, mon cher *Lucien*, que je viens d'être obligé d'emprunter 250,000 francs à 24 *pour Cent.* pour ſolder l'arriéré des comptes de la maiſon de 1808. Bethman connait celà mieux que perſonne. J'eſpère que dans le mois de Septembre, ſi j'obtiens de l'Empereur (ce que j'eſpère) je ſerai à même de vous envoyer 200,000 f. je les remettrai à Bethman. Campi m'écrit qu'il a pour 240,000 f. de valeur à vous appartenant; par conſéquent il trouvera un bénéfice de 4 pour cent a acquitter lui-meme les traites tirées par M^r. Boyer ſur Beth-

man; puiſque le change eſt dans cette proportion a l'avantage de Paris, d'ailleurs mon bon *Lucien* vous ſentirez qu'il ne peut me convenir de faire vendre les bijoux de la femme de mon frère pour qu'il ſ'acquitte d'une ſomme que je lui aurais avancée, et qu'il me ſerait ſi doux de lui offrir. Soyez convaincu mon cher frère que je ne laiſſerai pas échapper *une ſeule* circonſtance ou je pourrai non ſeulement vous être utile, mais agréable.

Je vous ſouhaite la bonne année ainſi qu'à toute votre famille; et je croyais bien d'après ce que j'avais *entendu a Erfurt* que ce ne ſerait pas ainſi que je la ſouhaiterais à mon bon frère et ami.

Je vous embraſſe de tout mon cœur.

Votre bon et
Aff. frère,
JEROME NAPOLEON.

Caſſel, ce 22 Janvier, 1809.

VIII.

Lettre de Madame Letizia Bonaparte au Citoyen Lucien Bonaparte, Miniſtre Plénipotentiaire de la Rép^e Françaiſe à Madrid.

Copiée verbatim et literatim.

Parigi, 27 *Nivoſo.*

Ho riciutto le tue due lettere mio caro Figlio—ſento con ſomo piacere che tu ſtia bene e contento e queſto fa la mia felicità ma la tua Contanaza e penibele per me, ma mi conſolo penſando al tuo ritorno ed al momento che auro la ſodisfazione di ſerrate nelle mie bracci con la piccola Criſtina. Lolota ſta bene e contenta—io ti manderò il mio ritratto ſpero che ſara finito in queſte due giorne e te ne faccio fare uno in grande per mettere nella tua caſa a Parigi ma non è anche finito—tutta

la famiglia ſta bene—luiggi è ſtato malato ma ora ſta meglio e in pocchi giorni ſarà di ritorno in pariggi—giromo e di gia imbarchato ma non a anche ſcritto tu puoi penſare quanto io ſia inquieta vedendovi tutte diſperſe, non voglio di piu ſu di cio—a dio caro lucciano ti abbraccio con la piccola Criſtina e continua a darme le tue e ſue notizie mille coſe da mia parte a bacciochi domani li ſcriverò non ti parlo nulla di Eliſa eſſa ti ſcrive e la ſola che vedo tutti li giorni—a dio un' altra ſono la affma. madre.

L. Bonaparte.

IX.

Lettre de la Princeſſe Eliſa Bacciocchi à ſa mère, Madame Letizia.

Ma chère Maman,

Je n'ai pas beſoin de vous dire avec

quels tranſports de joye j'ai appris les nouvelles de l'heureux accouchement de *l'Impératrice*, vous ſavez avec quel impatience nous attendions cet évènement, vous pouvez juger aſſez quel enthouſiaſme il a produit ici, voyant tous mes vœux comblés par la naiſſance du *Roi de Rome*, nos bons Toſcans ſe ſont livrés à tous les excès de leur joye. A peine j'ai reçu par une dépêche télégraphique l'avis que le *Roi de Rome* était né, j'ai fait tirer dans tout le Grand Duché des ſalves d'artillerie qui devaient l'annoncer ; j'ai reçu le Dimanche les félicitations de tous les corps civils et militaires, je ſuis allé le ſoir au ſpectacle qui était illuminé et gratis, et où j'ai été reçue par les plus vifs et les plus longs applaudiſſements. Le lendemain j'ai donné un grand cercle dans les grands ſalons du *Palais Pitti* et un ſouper de 90 couverts. Le jour ſuivant j'ai

donné un bal à la ville de Florence. Je vous écris aujourd'hui de ma campagne près de Lucques, où j'ai été pour voir mes enfants qui y ſont depuis un mois; mon fils ſouffrait depuis quelques jours des dents, et en était incommodé au point d'avoir un peu de fièvre. Le Prince était venu ici il y a quatre jours pour donner des fêtes, et ſe mèler à la joye qu'éprouvaient nos bons ſujets de Lucques; il me charge de vous dire mille choſes aimables.

Adieu ma chère maman ſoyez aſſez bonne pour me rappeler au ſouvenir de mon oncle *Feſch*, et pour me faire donner des nouvelles du *Roi de Rome* et de *l'Impératrice*.

Napoléon baiſe vos belles mains.

Je vous embraſſe,

Votre aff. fille,

ELISA.

Marlia, le 28 *Mars*, 1811.

X.

Lettre de Pauline Princeſſe Borghèſe, à Monſignor Cuneo, à Rome.

Mon cher Monſeigneur Cunéo,

Je vous envoie une lettre que vous pourrez montrer—à préſent que vous connaiſſez mes intentions poſitives, je vous prie d'agir avec le plus de célérité poſſible—ſans écouter aucun avis qui pourrait être contraire à ma volonté.

Si je n'obtiens pas de rentrer dans tous mes droits d'épouſe près du *Prince Borgheſe*, jamais je ne conſentirai à d'autre ſéparation qu'à une ſéparation de Torre, ne trouvant ni convenable, ni digne de nous ſéparer par ſentence ou par contract ſeulement, après les outrages horribles que j'ai reçus de la part du Prince.

Je n'aurai jamais le courage de rentrer dans le palais Borghèſe ſans être réunie entièrement avec le Prince. Si je ne puis pas parvenir à ce but, je jouirai au moins par une ſéparation complette du repos et de la liberté dont j'ai tant beſoin dans l'état de ſanté où je ſuis.

Voilà, mon cher Monſieur Cuneo, mes dernières et irrévocables volontés.

Je viens d'avoir une attaque de nerfs très forte après la longue diſcuſſion qui a eu lieu chez moi—je ſuis abſolument hors d'état d'en ſupporter de pareilles. Agiſſez donc *ſeul* en ſuivant mes intentions, et écrivez moi lorſque vous croirez avoir beſoin de me conſulter. Il eſt inutile de me communiquer des propoſitions qui ne répondraient pas à ce que je viens de vous dire, étant décidée irrévocablement à n'accepter que l'un ou l'autre parti que je vous fais connaitre ici—vous ne devez

point ſuivre les opinions des perſonnes de ma famille qui ne ſont pas d'ailleurs d'accord entre elles, mais les miennes et les miennes ſeules; il ſ'agit ici de mon avenir et de ma tranquillité pour la vie dont elles mêmes ne peuvent pas juger comme moi.

Agréez Monſeigneur l'aſſurance de mon parfait attachement.

PAULINE P^RS^. BORGHÈSE.

XI.

Lettre du Prince Napoléon Louis Bonaparte à ſon père, Louis, Comte de S^t^. Leu.

Mon cher papa,

DEPUIS que je ne vous ai écrit, la mort du père de M^elle^. L— a changé un peu mes projêts de mariage, car, puiſque juſqu'à préſent je ne connais aucune des perſonnes qu'on me pro-

poſe, je ne fais attention qu'aux convenances et nullement aux affections, qui ne peuvent ſe manifeſter que lorſqu'on ſ'eſt vu de près ; donc les avantages que je trouvais dans l'alliance que je déſirais contracter, n'exiſtent plus, et que ſi je veux perſiſter dans des vues matrimoniales, ce que j'ai de mieux à faire c'eſt de jeter mes vues ſur *M^elle^. de Padoue.* Vous me ferez grand plaiſir de me répondre à ce ſujet et de me donner votre avis, quoique je ne ſois pas très preſſé de me marier. Je vous envoie ici ci joint la copie d'une loi que le gouvernement vient de faire paſſer et qui eſt évidemment faite contre *nous*, car elle coupe court à toutes les réclamations que ma famille pourrait faire au ſujet des dettes que le gouvernement Français a envers elle. Je crois que dans cette circonſtance ſi l'on tient à pouſſer ſon droit, il n'y a qu'à entamer un

procès au gouvernement, malheureuſement on n'a pas ſu plus tôt cette loi qu'on a fait paſſer ſans éclat, afin qu'on n'y prit point garde.

J'ai reçu une lettre de Charlotte et je vais lui répondre.

Comme ma ſanté n'eſt pas très bonne depuis un mois, j'irai bientôt paſſer un mois aux eaux de Baden prés Zürich.

Adieu mon cher papa,
Recevez l'aſſurance de mon ſincere attachement.
Votre tendre et reſpectueux fils,
NAPOLÉON LOUIS B.

Arenenberg, ce 5 juin, 1834.

XII.

Lettre du Prince Napoléon Louis Bonaparte, à Mon^sr. Lombard de Paris.

Londres, ce 5 Oct^e., 1839.

Mon cher Lombard,

Je vous prie d'aller de ma part chez M^r. Charles Durand rédacteur du *Capitole* et de lui dire qu'autant j'aime à lui donner des louanges quand il ſe livre à tout ſon talent, autant je crois de mon devoir de lui exprimer ma déſapprobation quand je lis dans un journal auquel je m'intéreſſe des articles auſſi inconvenants que celui qui y était inſéré dans le N°. du 2 Octobre intitulé *La Reine d'Angleterre.* Comment le Capitole, qui ſe fait l'organe du *Napoléoniſme* et du ſyſtème Impérial, va-t-il prêcher le ſyſtême du cochon

à l'engrais? Comment le *Capitole*, qui a même beaucoup trop vivement attaqué l'Angleterre va-t-il un beau jour ſe prendre de paſſion pour la conſtitution ariſtocratique de l'Angleterre?

Comment le *Capitole* dont le ſpirituel rédacteur écrivait un jour "il "y a trop de journaux libéraux et "légitimiſtes en France, il en faut "un purement national et qui étonne "par ſa nouvelle couleur;" comment, dis-je, ce même rédacteur ſouffre-t-il un article qui tienne le journal dans cette même ornière des partiſans de la Conſtitution Anglaiſe, dont le grand principe eſt cette guerre des ſynonimes—"*Le Roi règne* "*et ne gouverne pas?*" Enfin comment un journal qui ſe dit *Napoléoniſte* va-t-il dire que l'armée ſert plus tôt à opprimer le peuple en tems de paix qu'à le défendre en tems de guerre? Cet article m'a

bien irrité et dites de ma part à Mr. Charles Durand que ſ'il en laiſſe paſſer encore *un* ſeul de ce genre je ceſſerai entièrement les ſubſides que j'avais promis.

Après lui avoir lu cette lettre *vous la brulerez et vous ne parlerez à qui que ſoit de la commiſſion que je vous donne.* Je tiens beaucoup à ce qu'on ignore entièrement mes rapports avec C. D.

Adieu croyez à mon entier &cca.

L.

Envoyez par la diligence la brochure de Mr. Ls. Nortier—après l'avoir lue vous répondrez aux autres queſtions.

XIII.

Lettre du Prince Napoléon Louis Bonaparte, à Mr. Lombard de Paris.

Sans date.

Mr. d'Artin	Fs.	25000
Le nouveau gérant		33500
Sous le nom du nouveau directeur		41500

De ces derniers 41500 il y a 20000 d'hypothèques.

Faire renouveler l'hypothèque. Lettre de change de 25000 fcs. à C— lorſque tout ſera terminé & 15000 fs. pour faire aller le journal juſqu'à ce qu'on puiſſe employer les fcs. 33500 de l'ancien cautionnement.

A la rédaction. Aucune attaque contre *le Siècle.* Aucune louange pour le régime conſtitutionel. Vanter la conſtitution de l'Empire ſous le même point de vue que l'auteur des *idées Napoléoniēnes.* Vanter l'armée.

Tomber ſur l'organiſation de la garde Nationale et vanter l'organiſation de la *Landwehr Pruſſienne.* Montrer la conſtitution Anglaiſe comme la plus ariſtocratique de toutes ; la conſtitution de *l'Empire* comme eſſentiellement démocratique comme leur eſprit.

A Monſieur Lombard.

Paris.

Mon cher Lombard,

Je vous envoie une lettre de change de 8000 f^cs^. Vous irez la porter de ma part à *Monſieur Charles Durand, rédacteur du Capitole,* après l'avoir été chercher chez les banquiers. Vous la remettrez à lui-même et vous lui demanderez un reçu que vous m'enverrez. Vous ne parlerez de ceci à *perſonne* ni à M^r^. G— ni à aucun autre.

Croyez à mon amitié,

N.

XIV.

Lettre du Prince Napoléon Louis B. à M^r. Thayer, 5 Rue Ménard, Paris.

Ham, Le 9 Jan^vr. 1841.

Mon cher Monſieur Thayer,

Je profite des offres de ſervice que vous avez bien voulu me faire, pour vous prier de réclamer auprès du miniſtre contre certaines meſures qui ſont priſes ici par ſon ordre mais qui, j'en ſuis ſûr, n'émanent que des bureaux, car je ne ſaurais croire qu'un homme comme Mon^sr. Duchatel veuille ajouter des vexations inutiles à tous les manque d'égards et de procédés du gouvernement à mon ſujêt. Juſqu'à préſent je n'ai pas voulu réclamer contre tous ces abus d'autorité, parceque ſous un rapport j'étais bien aiſe de voir combien le

gouvernement montrait naïvement et nettement la crainte que je lui inſpire, mais tout a un terme, et comme lorſque on ne ſe plaint pas, on n'a fait qu'encourager les perſécutions, je ſuis bien décidé à employer tous les moyens pour qu'on me rende juſtice et croyez le, malgré les gardes et les géoliers, ma voix tot ou tard ſera entendue et couvrira de honte ceux qui oublient les égards qu'on doit toujours au malheur.

Je demanderai d'abord ſ'il eſt légal, ſ'il eſt juſte, ſ'il eſt humain de me tenir depuis trois mois *au ſecret* et de ne permettre à perſonne de venir me voir. Et non ſeulement je ne puis voir perſonne mais ma correſpondance eſt ſoumiſe à tous les affronts et à toutes les entraves. Si un de mes amis m'écrit en Anglais ou en Allemand ma lettre eſt envoyée à Paris, ou elle ſe perd dans les bureaux qui la gardent ou la renvoyent

huit jours après, un mot de pitié ou de conſolation ſuffit pour que la lettre ſoit interceptée. J'ai pour me promener un baſtion, aux deux bouts ſont placés deux factionnaires. Le rempart eſt élevé de 60 pieds au deſſus de la campagne et cependant il faut que je ſois ſuivi pas à pas par deux géoliers ou agents de police, de ſorte qu'il m'eſt plus déſagréable de ſortir que de rentrer dans ma chambre.

Enfin je termine (tout en paſſant ſur bien d'autres petites choſes) par l'expoſé d'une meſure qui eſt le comble de l'abſurdité. Le Gén[l]. Montholon, gráce à ſon état maladif, a obtenu d'avoir les ſoins de ſa femme. Hier on fait dire au commandant que le Gen[l]. Montholon ne pourra communiquer avec moi pendant le tems des viſites de ſa femme, ainſi donc quand la comteſſe viendra, on mettra un gardien entre nos deux chambres, et dans quel but je vous le demande?

Eſt ce à cauſe des communications? mais voyant le Gén[l]. 10 minutes avant la viſite de ſa femme et 10 minutes après je pourrais lui faire dire ce que je voudrai, celà eſt donc complettement abſurde! Je vous prie donc de demander 1[mo]. qu'on lève cette dernière ſtupide reſtriction et que l'on puiſſe communiquer librement avec moi. 2[do]. qu'on reſpecte ma correſpondance. 3°. et qu'on me donne la citadelle pour priſon. D'ailleurs le miniſtre devra pour tous ces détails ſ'en rapporter entièrement au commandant du Fort et au commiſſaire ſpécial de police qui ſont ſur les lieux et qui jugent mieux ce qui eſt utile et ce qui ne l'eſt pas.

Le commandeur ſait tres bien que je n'ai nulle envie de m'évader et quoiqu'il exécute toujours ponctuellement les ordres qu'il reçoit, quelque ſtupides qu'ils ſoient, il a

un cœur et un jugement qui doivent déſapprouver ſouvent ce qu'on lui enjoint de faire. Je vous demande pardon d'entrer avec vous dans tous ces détails, mais je compte ſur votre amitiè pour faire l'uſage convenable de ma lettre. Quant à la crainte d'une évaſion, elle eſt ſi peu fondée que vous pouvez de ma part dire au Miniſtre que ſ'il m'offrait une amniſtie je la refuſerais !

Recevez, mon cher Monſieur Thayer, l'aſſurance de mes ſentiments d'eſtime et d'amitié.

NAPOLÉON LOUIS B.

Monſieur Edouard Thayer,
5 *Rue Ménard, Paris.*

Poſted 9th *January* 1841.

P.S.—Je vous prie auſſi de réclamer pour mes amis de Doulens pour leſquels on a pouſſé la *barbarie* juſqu'à leur refuſer d'avoir du feu

dans leur chambre. Ils ſont dix et il n'y a que trois qui aient du feu !!!

XV.

Lettre de Monſr. Jal Hiſtoriographe de la Marine, datée 29 Avril, 1837. Adreſſée à Monſr. Buchon, 24 Rue de la Victoire, Paris.

Mon cher Buchon,

Le miniſtre m'a dit qu'aucune nouvelle de la *Melpoméne* ne lui eſt arrivée, ni directement ni indirectement depuis le paſſage de ce navire à Rio Janeiro. Les nouvelles données par les journaux ſont controuvées. Le rapport de Monſr. le capitaine de vaiſſeau De Villeneuve, commandant la frégate, Rapport daté de Rio, annonce que le jeune *Louis Napoléon* était très bien portant, qu'il avait compris tout de ſuite ſa poſition à bord, qu'il ſ'eſt beaucoup occupé

d'Artillerie de Marine, de manœuvres &c^a^. qu'il a été dans les meilleurs termes avec l'état major et que l'équipage qui l'avait d'abord regardé avec curioſité le premier jour, n'a plus fait attention à lui le ſecond jour, ainſi qu'il arrive toujours à bord d'un navire.

Adieu, mon cher ami, le miniſtre eſt très faché de n'avoir aucun détail nouveau à donner à la Reine Hortenſe, dont il plaint beaucoup le malheur.

Tout à vous.

A. Jal.

29 *Avril*, 1837.

XVI.

Lettre de l'Impératrice Marie Louiſe à Monſieur le Baron de Weſſemberg.

(*Obſerver la date.*)

Je vous prierai Monſieur le Baron de me dire le jour et l'endroit ou cette affaire a eu lieu et ſ'il eſt vrai que le comte Neippert a eu la jambe caſſée, j'eſpère que cela n'eſt pas vrai cela me facherait.

Je vous demande pardon de vous déranger dans vos conférences.

Louise M.

Ce 18 *Avril*, 1815.

XVII.

Lettre de la reine Hortenſe à la Maréchale Ney, princeſſe de la Moſkowa, rue de Larochefoucauld, Paris.

Je penſe que tu es de retour à Paris ma chère Eglé et en meilleur ſanté;

je ſuis bien fachée que tu n'ayes pas penſé à paſſer l'hiver dans les pays chauds, quand la ſanté ſ'affaiblit c'eſt le remède le ſeul efficace; moi qui engraiſſe beaucoup je ſupporte mieux le froid que jadis, mais il faut que je me réſigne à ne pas ſortir et c'eſt de faire ſi peu d'exerciſe qui m'engraiſſe. M^me^. de Pontalba te donnera en détail de mes nouvelles—elle a du trouver la turgovie bien brillante; dans ce moment j'avais le Prince de Montfort et toute ſa famille chez moi, enſuite eſt arrivée la grand-ducheſſe avec ſa fille, cela n'a pas été long, mais c'était notre carnaval et cela rappellait le voyage du prince Oſcar où tu dois te rappeller que dans mon ſi petit château on eſt alors forcé de ſe mettre deux ou trois dans une chambre—à préſent le calme habituel eſt revenu et je m'en arrange fort bien—je ne regrette que ce beau ſoleil de l'Italie qui me permettait

de me promener tout l'hiver, mais ma tranquillité eſt pourtant un grand bien et je ne pourrais l'être nulle part auſſi bien qu'ici.

Je penſe que tu auras lu les bêtes de mémoires qui ont été compoſés ſur moi, cela m'a décidé à faire paraitre mon triſte voyage en France que j'ai écrit cet hiver—je ne penſais pas à le rendre public, car j'ai mis tous les plus petits détails qui n'ont peut-être d'intérêt que pour moi et mes amis; mais tous ces contes répandus ſur moi m'ont fait conſentir enfin à complaire en cela à tous ceux qui me montrent de l'intérêt, j'ai dit toute la vérité, on en tirera les conſéquences qu'on voudra, je ne m'en inquiette guère, car autant je tiens à l'opinion de quelques gens diſtingués, autant celle de ce qu'on appelle le monde, m'eſt devenue indifférente —j'ai donné l'ordre de t'envoyer un des premiers exemplaires qui paraîtra.

Je viens de m'occuper à retoucher moi-même les épreuves, c'eſt fort ennuyeux; mais puiſque me voilà auteur je dois en avoir tous les embarras—je t'aſſure qu'il m'a fallu un grand courage pour retracer tant de douloureuſes impreſſions. Une perte comme celle que j'ai faite laiſſe des traces ineffaçables—dans des inſtants on ſ'engourdit, on ſ'abuſe, et dans d'autres une douleur aigüe vous ſerre le cœur comme au premier jour. J'attendais Nieves ce mois ci, mais je penſe qu'elle a changé d'idée—d'ailleurs la ſaiſon devient mauvaiſe pour voyager et même pour habiter mon petit château qui eſt bien expoſé au vent—je préfère beaucoup qu'on me viſite quand la campagne eſt belle. Adieu ma chère Eglé, mille tendreſſes pour toi et tes enfants.

H.

Ce 31 *Octobre*, 1833.

J'ai eu la viſite de la pauvre Ducheſſe de Raguſe—quel changement!

XVIII.

Lettre du Prince Eugène Beauharnais à S. M. l'Empereur Napoléon.

Vérone, Ce 22 *O^bre*, 1813.

Sire,

J'AI l'honneur d'adreſſer à votre Majeſté une copie de lettre parvenue de Munich par la Suiſſe et dirigée à Naples.

L'arrivée à Bologne de trente mille Napolitains eſt officiellement annoncée par le Chargé d'Affaires de cette puiſſance à Milan; mais je ne ſache pas qu'aucun ſoldat ait encore touché le territoire *Français*.

J'ai rendu compte au duc de Feltre que l'ennemi ſ'était renforcé de deux Reg^ts. d'inf^ie. de trois mille

hommes chacun, j'apprends aujourd'hui par des priſonniers et des déſerteurs qu'il eſt arrivé avant hier à leur armée pluſieurs bataillons de Landwert, ſavoir ceux des Reg^ts. Arch-Charles inf^ie., *Deutſchmeiſter Kerpen, Jordis* et pluſieurs autres— ce qui porte leur nouveau renfort à plus de douze mille hommes d'inf^ie. Le G^nl. Pino me mande de Bologne que le corps débarqué près de la Meſola eſt entré le 18 à Ferrare en même tems qu'il détachait par Rovigo un fort parti qui culbutait nos poſtes le long du bas Adige. Le G'^nl. Pino ſuppoſait que l'archiduc Maximilien était lui-même à Ferrare, que les forces ennemies dans cette partie ayant été augmenté (*ſic*) par un ſecond débarquement venant de Fiume, peuvent être évaluées à 4,000^hommes. y compris des inſurgés de l'Iſtrie et de la Croatie. Dès le 1^er. avis de ce débarquement, j'avais

dirigé ſur Oſtiglia deux B^ons^. commandés par un Major avec 60 chevaux.

J'apprends que cette colonne eſt arrivée avant hier ſoir à Bondeno où elle a ſurpris un poſte de 60 Croates qu'elle a fait priſonniers. J'attends d'un inſtant à l'autre des renſeignements plus éxacts ſur les projets et la force de l'ennemi dans le bas Po.

Votre Majeſté connait la poſition de mes troupes, deux div^ons^. à Vérone une div^on^. à Rivoli et une à Ronco et Iſola porcarizza ; dans cette poſition j'attendrai à voir un mouvement bien certain de l'ennemi avant de quitter Vérone pour marcher à lui.

J'ai l'honneur d'être avec reſpect,

Sire,

Votre très dévoué et tendre
fils et fidel ſujet
EUGÈNE NAPOLÉON.

ANECDOTE OF

KING GEORGE III. AND THE LATE

MRS. ARTHUR STANHOPE.

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MRS. ARTHUR STANHOPE.

LORD STANHOPE, in his agreeable "Life of Pitt," ſpeaking of the cloſe of the Parliamentary Seſſion of 1804, on the 31ſt of July (an unuſually late period for the ſitting of Parliament at that time), remarks, on the authority of the Speaker, "That His Majeſty looked extremely well, and read his ſpeech with great animation, but accidentally turned over two leaves together, and ſo omitted about one-fourth of his intended ſpeech. It happened, however, that the tranſition was not incoherent, and it eſcaped ſome of the

Cabinet who had heard it before the King delivered it.[1] Lord Stanhope proceeds to tell us that the King was at this time quite well. He ſpent the interval at Weymouth, and opened the next Seſſion of Parliament in perſon, on the 15th of January, by a ſpeech from the Throne. It is with reference to this, his laſt ſpeech in Parliament, that I give the following anecdote, dictated to me in the year 1837 by the late Mrs. Stanhope, ſiſter of Harriet, Counteſs of Cheſterfield, and who, with her huſband, Mr. Arthur Stanhope, was for many years honoured by the private friendſhip of King George III., and conſequently much at Windſor.

Not many days before the meeting of Parliament Mr. and Mrs. Stanhope being on a viſit to the Queen's houſe, and the latter play-

[1] Stanhope's "Life of Pitt," vol. iv. p. 211.

ing with the King at cards, His Majeſty, who was at that time getting very blind, complained that "he could not ſee the cards." The meeting of Parliament was mentioned; the King obſerved that "he could not deſcribe how he dreaded the following Tueſday" (which was the day for the opening of Parliament), "for that his eyes were now ſo bad that he could hardly ſee to read his ſpeech at all, and he always made ſuch miſtakes" (evidently alluding to what had occurred on the 31ſt of July), "that he felt quite aſhamed of himſelf, and beſides," he added, "they write it in ſuch a miſerable cramped hand that it is with the greateſt difficulty I can make it out." "Dear me, Sir," I ſaid pertly enough, "I wonder your Majeſty allows of that, for, if I were you, I would have the ſpeech *printed* in ſuch large letters that it might

be eaſily read." The King made no anſwer to this, beyond a ſhort dry hem! which was often his cuſtom when not quite pleaſed; ſo I ſaw he did not like being adviſed, and I thought to myſelf, "Well! a pretty fooliſh ſpeech I have made, I have done for myſelf, I ſee!"

No more was ſaid on the ſubject, and we returned to town, and on the following Tueſday the King arrived to open the Parliament. In the evening Lord Walſingham and Lord Cheſterfield came in to ſee us, exclaiming, "Well, Mrs. Stanhope, your name is *well up*, I can tell you, for the King ſays he has not read his ſpeech ſo well this twenty years, and that it is all your doing;" and ſo it was, ſure enough, for he had had the ſpeech printed and had read it without heſitation. Soon afterwards we again went to Windſor, and after breakfaſt was over, the

following morning, the King and Queen as uſual were leaving the room together, but when they arrived cloſe to where I was ſtanding the King ſtopped, and to the evident ſurpriſe of the Queen, began fidgeting and fumbling in his pocket; at laſt pulling out a printed paper he turned to me, ſaying he had not, he believed, for twenty years, read his ſpeech ſo eaſily, or ſo much to his own ſatisfaction; that he owed it entirely to my ſuggeſtion and deſired to acknowledge how much he felt indebted to me by preſenting me with the original printed ſpeech which he had uſed, and which therefore he felt ſure I ſhould value. This was the laſt time he ever opened Parliament in perſon. The ſpeech, now in my poſſeſſion, is printed on a foolſcap ſheet of thick paper in a very large type, and being the only one ever uſed by a Britiſh ſovereign,

as I believe, at the opening or proroguing of Parliament, which was not in manuſcript, it is here reprinted, though its intereſt mainly lies in the above anecdote, which I offer for preſervation in the miſcellany of the Philobiblon Society.

Ev. Ph. Shirley.[1]

My Lords and Gentlemen,

Since the end of the laſt Seſſion the preparations of the enemy for the invaſion of this kingdom have been continued with inceſſant activity; but no attempt has been made to carry their repeated menaces into effect.

The ſkill and intrepidity of my Navy, the reſpectable and formidable ſtate of my Army and Militia; the unabated zeal and improved diſcipline of a numerous Volunteer

[1] Grandſon of the late Mrs. Arthur Stanhope.

Force; and the general ardour manifeſted by all claſſes of my ſubjects, have indeed been ſufficient to deter them from ſo preſumptuous and deſperate an enterpriſe. While this ſpirit continues to animate the country, and its voluntary exertions for its own defence ſubſiſt in their full vigour, we need not fear the conſequences of the moſt powerful efforts on the part of the enemy. But let us never forget that our ſecurity has ariſen from the reſolution with which we have met and provided againſt the danger, and that it can be preſerved only by ſteady perſeverance and unremitting activity.

The conduct of the Court of Spain, evidently under the predominant influence and control of France, compelled me to take prompt and deciſive meaſures to guard againſt the effects of hoſtility. I have, at

the ſame time, endeavoured, as long as it was poſſible, to prevent the neceſſity of a rupture; but, in conſequence of the refuſal of a ſatisfactory explanation, my Miniſter quitted Madrid, and war has ſince been declared by Spain againſt this country.

I have directed a copy of the manifeſto which I have cauſed to be prepared on this occaſion to be laid before you, together with ſuch papers as are neceſſary to explain the diſcuſſions which have taken place between me and the Court of Madrid. You will, I truſt, be convinced by them, that my forbearance has been carried to the utmoſt extent which the intereſts of my dominions would admit; and while I lament the ſituation of Spain, involved in hoſtilities contrary to its true intereſts, I rely with confidence on your vigorous ſupport in a con-

teſt, which can be attributed only to the unfortunate prevalence of French counſels.

The general conduct of the French Government on the Continent of Europe has been marked by the utmoſt violence and outrage, and has ſhown a wanton defiance of the rights of neutral territories, of the acknowledged privileges of accredited miniſters, and of the eſtabliſhed principles of the law of nations.

Notwithſtanding theſe tranſactions, ſo repugnant to every ſentiment of moderation and juſtice, I have recently received a communication from the French Government containing profeſſions of a pacific diſpoſition. I have in conſequence expreſſed my earneſt deſire to embrace the firſt opportunity of reſtoring the bleſſings of peace, on ſuch grounds as may be conſiſtent with

the permanent ſafety and intereſts of my dominions; but I am confident you will agree with me that thoſe objects are cloſely connected with the general ſecurity of Europe. I have therefore not thought it right to enter into any more particular explanation without previous communication with thoſe powers on the Continent with whom I am engaged in confidential intercourſe and connection, with a view to that important object, and eſpecially with the Emperor of Ruſſia, who has given the ſtrongeſt proofs of the wiſe and dignified ſentiments by which he is animated, and of the warm intereſt he takes in the ſafety and independence of Europe.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,—

I have directed the eſtimates for the publick ſervice to be laid before

you. I regret the neceſſity of any additional burdens being impoſed on my people, but I am ſure you will be ſenſible how much their future ſafety and happineſs depend on the vigour of our exertions, and that, in the mode of raiſing the ſupplies, you will continue to ſhow your anxiety for the ſupport of publick credit, and for reſtraining as much as poſſible the accumulation of the National Debt.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

In conſidering the great efforts and ſacrifices which the nature of the conteſt requires, it is a peculiar ſatisfaction to me to obſerve the many proofs of the internal wealth and proſperity of the country. It will, I am ſure, be your great object to maintain and improve theſe advantages, and at the ſame time to take all ſuch meaſures as, by enabling

me to profecute the war with vigour, may afford the beſt proſpect of bringing it to a ſafe and honourable termination.

PAPERS RELATING TO MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.

PAPERS RELATING TO MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.

HE MSS. from which theſe papers have been printed form part of the private collection of General the Rt. Hon. Sir William Knollys, K.C.B., in whoſe family they have remained ever ſince they were written. With the exception of No. 2, which has been publiſhed in Thomas Wright's "Queen Elizabeth and her Times," vol. i. page 289, but of which the original rough draft is here given, none of the documents appear to have been printed. Only two or three more ſeem to have come under

the notice of the hiſtorians of the reign of Elizabeth. The exiſtence of this part of Sir W. Knollys's Collection of MSS. is however mentioned in Appendix VIII. of the Hon. and Rev. H. A. Napier's "Hiſtorical Notices of the pariſhes of Swyncombe and Ewelme."

Moſt of the letters are addreſſed to, or written by, Sir Francis Knollys, ſeveral of whoſe anceſtors are known to have lived in Oxfordſhire. He was born in 1514, filled ſome minor offices at the courts of Henry VIII. and Edward VI., but under Mary Tudor was obliged to retire to Germany on account of his decided Proteſtant views. On the acceſſion of Elizabeth he returned to England and was immediately made a member of the Privy Council. He ſucceſſively received the appointments of Treaſurer of the Chamber, Captain of the Queen's Guard, Vice-

chamberlain, and Treaſurer of the Houſehold, beſides ſeveral other permanent and temporary offices. He was elected a Knight of the Garter in 1593. In the firſt Parliament of Elizabeth he ſat for the borough of Arundell, and from her ſecond Parliament to the end of his life in 1596 he repreſented the county of Oxford. Sir Francis was married to the Couſin German of Queen Elizabeth, Catherine, daughter of William Carey by Mary, daughter of Thomas Boleyn, Earl of Wiltſhire, and ſiſter to Queen Anne Boleyn. Of his eight ſons and eight daughters, ſeven ſons and four daughters only ſeem to have reached an advanced age. The ſecond ſon, Sir William Knollys, was created in 1603 Baron Knollys of Greys, in 1616 Viſcount Wallingford, and in 1625 Earl of Banbury. As he was the eldeſt ſon living at the time of

Sir Francis's death, he was appointed his father's executor, and thus through his deſcendants Sir Francis's papers, as well as thoſe of his uncle Henry Knollys, have come into the poſſeſſion of the preſent Sir William Knollys. Sir Francis's eldeſt daughter, Lettice Knollys, married 1, Walter Devereux, Earl of Eſſex, + 1576, 2, Robert Dudley, Earl of Leiceſter, + 1588, and 3, Sir Chriſtopher Blount, who was beheaded in 1601. The ſame fate was ſhared in the ſame year by her ſon Robert Devereux, Earl of Eſſex.

1. *Sir William Cecil to Sir Francis Knollys.*

In Cecil's own handwriting, but directed in a different hand: "To the right honorable S^r^ francis knolles knight one of the Queens ma^ts^ ꝑvy councell her highnes vicechamberleyn and thrẽr of her chamber."

S^r^. This beror hath tarryed Long

here for lack of power to gyve him direct anſw. the Q. Ma^ty purpoſyng frō tyme to tyme to wryte to y^e ſcottiſh Quene and now in the end ſhe will not, having alſo anſwered y^e L. Herriſs to ſuch lr̄es as laſt cā frō y^t Quene and hir Ma^ts reſolutiō is y^t ſhe wold have y^t Quene remove to boltō Caſtell w^c ſhe erneſtly wiſheth to be doone. And ſo lackȳg leſure to wryte any more but my Com̄ēd. both to yow and my good Lord Scroope I end amōgſt carts this Tueſday mornȳg 12. July. at Haward

1568.

Yours aſſuredly

W. Cicille.

Note.—The ſpelling of the original MSS., including the uſe of capital letters, has been ſtrictly followed throughout all theſe papers.

2. *Sir Francis Knollys to Sir William Cecil.*

Rough draft written by a clerk, with corrections in Sir Francis's own hand (the latter printed in italics). Endorsed: "*.16. of Julye. 1568. my lett^r to m^r secretarie.*"

We receuid you^r lett^r of y^e .12. hereoff on Wensdaye night very late, and We arivid heare at bolton Castell w^th this Q. yester night ane oure after sonne settinge, and since her deptur frome karlill hethervnto she hathe bene verie quiet, verie tractable, and voyd of displeasant cōutnance. *Althoe she semeth she woll not remove any furder into the realme wythowt constraynt the w^ch removing woll easlier be done, yf it be taken in hand by bett^r parsonages than we are.* Ther hathe bene no repaire vnto her by the way as might have bene lokte for, the w^ch repaire I suppose hathe bene abridgid by o^r sharpe dealinge w^th one xp̄ofor lasells cominge to karlill

out of yorkſhier aboute .3. weks paſte of porpoſe to ſe this Q., and becauſe we vnderſtode him to be not onelie alewd practiſar and arogant papiſt, but alſo that he had bene in diſpleſure afore time for practiſing w^th^ this Q., therfore after that he had confeſſid that he came of purpoſe to ſe the Q. dwellinge in yorkſher, and that he had bene in troble ~~afore time~~ for ~~this Q.~~ *hyr ſake or cawſe.* we declaring firſt vnto him that no ſubiect of the Q. highnes ought to hono^r^ an other prince w^th^ his p^r^ſence in form of viſitac̄on or welcoming the ſame, w^th^oute comiſſion or conducton of ſome of his ſuperiors, we choſe this ill man to diſgrace for an example in this ſorte, we appointed M^r^ morton to retorne w^th^ him to his Lodginge, and to accompanie him vntill he had made him redie to ried w^th^ ſpede, and had

ſene him oute of the gates homewards agaī wᵗʰoute ſeing of this Q. as his intent was,

This howſe apperithe to be verie ſtronge, verie fair, & verie ſtatlie after tholde maner of buldinge, and is the higheſt wallid houſe that I have ſene, and hathe but one entrance therinto, and halfe the nomber of Mʳ reads bande may better watche and ward the ſame then the hole nomber therof cold doe karlill caſtell whear Mʳ read and his ſoldiers, and Mʳ morton, and Mʳ wilford toke great pains *& my L. Scrope alſo was a late watcher*, the band was devidid into .5. ꝑts ſo that the watch and ward cam about euʳi fivthe night and euʳi 5ᵗʰ day of the wᶜʰ watch and ward we had .5. governors the firſt was Mʳ read and willm̃ knowlls for his learninge accompanied him.

The 2ᵒ. was Mʳ morton, third was Mʳ wilford, the 4ᵗʰ was baret Mʳ

reads liveteñant, the .5.th was weſt his añcient berar averie ſufficient and carefull man alſo, the Q. chamber at karlill had a window loking oute toward ſkotland, the barrs whearof beinge filed aſunder oute of the ſame ſhe might have bene lett downe, and then ſhe had plain grownde before her to paſſe into ſkotlande, But nere vnto the ſame windowe we fownde an old poſterne dore that was dampnid vp wth a rampier of earthe ~~betwẽ .2. walls~~. *on the inner ſyde* of .20 foot broade and 30. foote depe *betwene* .2. *walles:* ffor the comoditie of wch poſterne for or ſalye to that windowe, ~~and~~ wth redie watche & ward ~~to the ſame~~ we did cutt into that ramper in forme of a ſtayre wth atorninge about downe to the ſaid poſterne and *ſo* openid the ſame, wth-oute the wch device we cold not have watchid & gardid this Q. there ſo ſafelie as we did althoghe there

was an other windowe of her chamb^{r} for paſſing into ~~the towne oute of the caſtell~~ an orchard wthin the towne wall and ſo to have ſlipped over the towne wall, *that* was alſo verie dangerous, but theſe matters I cann better tell yo^{u} at my retorne, vpon a rewd plott that I have drawne therof, Nowe if ye like well of o^{r} removing of this Q. hether, then I p^{r}y yo^{u} conſider that yo^{u} cold aſſiſte me in backinge of vs to the achiving of this enterprice that had ſo manie dificulties *therin* is worthie of no prays at all. But ~~becauſe~~ *althoe* a foolls bolt ~~is~~ *be* ſone ſhott, ~~ye ſhall geve me leave to feare, that no counterfeit police of any regiment will achive great enterprics nor continue longe wthoute great ꝑrill,~~ *yet I dare not tell youe all that I thynk herein./* Nowe I truſte yo^{u} will retorne me home furthwth becauſe I *ſee* no reaſon nor grownd of my ſtaying heare any

longer for this as towching the defraying of the chardgs this klarke being a ſufficient, carefull, and honeſt man.

Having his ꝑporcon ſett downe carten ~~it~~ *wᶜʰ* wolbe ꝑtlie abridgid by my depting hence will eaſlie diſchardge his duetie in that behalfe, and wheras I do no good heare, I may either ſerve ~~to fill a place~~ as a ſcipher in agrame at the court, *I mean to occupie a place there*, or I may be diſmiſſid to the cart wᶜʰ is fitter for me. 16. *Julii.* 1568. *poſt ſcripte. the charges of removing of this Q. hether was ſomwhat the larger, bycawſe we were dryven to hyer* .4. *lytle carrs and* .20. *carriage horſes, &* ~~.16~~ .23. *ſadle horſes for hyr women & men* ~~*to hyr comoditie & ſatisfaction*~~ *the wᶜʰ was well accompliſſhed vppon the ſodayn to hyr comoditie & ſatisfacti*ō.

3. *Sir Francis Knollys to his Wife.*

In Sir Francis's own handwriting and directed by him "*To his loving wyffe the ladie katryn knollys.*"

I am very ſorye to here that youe are fallen into a feverr, I wold to god I were ſo diſpatched hence that I myght onely attend & care for you^r^ good recoverye: I truſt youe ſhall ſhortly overcome this fever & recover good helthe agayne, for althoe in you^r^ helthe youe doe often forgett to p event ſyknes by dve & preciſe order, yet when youe are fallen into ſykenes, youe woll then (althoe it be late) obſerve very good order.

Brygg̃hm & the lyttle lackeye are cvm hether vnto me w^th^ the two lyttle grey naggs, and ſorryll wylford and the black geldyng ~~& .4. payre of.~~ Brygg̃hm tells me that Edward knollys is ſycke of an agve, & y^t^ otherwyes youe wold haue ſent hym hether to me, but yf he had come, I

doe not looke yᵗ he wold have vſed hym ſelffe halffe ſo well as wyllyam knollys hathe done, for wᵗʰ his cvrteſie & good diſcretion he hathe gotten here a very good opynyon of all ſortes, among the wᶜʰ nvmber the Q. grace here is one, whoe can diſcern a young mans towardnes very well, wᵗʰ whom he hathe vttered his frenche tvnge often tymes, althoe it was longe or ſhe had any ſpeache wᵗʰ hym. I haue ben dryven to many contentions wᵗʰ this Q. before ſhe wold remove from Carlylle hether, but yet ſhe hathe that good nature that althoe ſhe can not forbayre to vtter hyr ſtvmmack, ſo yet ſhe is ſoone pacefied agayne, or rather ſhe woll ſeeke reconciliation in pleaſant ſorte & maner: But nowe I pray youe help that I may be revoked and retorne agayne, for I haue lytle to doe here & I may be ſpared hence very well, I haue wrytton erneſtly

to m^r^ ſecretarie in this behalffe: The great matt^r^ that I had to doe is paſte, w^ch^ was the removyng of this Q. ſafelye hethether: The w^ch^ thyng, my L. Scroope ſaythe, never a cownſayllor in ynglond wold haue done but my ſelffe, beyng ſo wekely backed thervnto as we haue ben.— My L. Scroope w^th^ the helpe of kaptayn Reade & fyftye of his ſoldears here remaynȳg can kepe hyr ſafely in this ſtronge howſe; And yf hyr hyghnes woll remove hyr furder into y^e^ realme, ſome noble man wolbe appoynted thervnto (as my L. of Shrewſbery was named) for I am nowe diſcredited w^th^ hyr, for ſhe fyndes that I had no ſotche awthoretie to remove hyr as I pretended, as m^r^ Secretary can tell youe, ſo y^t^ I am moſt vnfytt to deale any furder. And thus wyſshyng you^r^ good and comfortable recovery to you^r^ owne ſatisfaction & myne, I

ſhall comyt youe to god. from Bolton kaſtyll the .29. of Julye, 1568.

your loving hvſband.

F. KNOLLYS.

I praye youe remember me to my brother, w^th^ thanks alſo for his lett^r^, deſiryng hym to pardon my not wrytyng preſently to hym, ſynce I am otherwaies tyred w^th^ wrytyng in this vnthankfull ſervice./

4. *Robert Beſtney and Francis Fryer to Sir Francis Knollys.*

Written by Fryer and directed by him "To the right honorable o^r^ ſynguler good M^r^ S^r^. Franncs knollys knighte vycechamberleyn to the Q. Ma^te^. and Treſourer of y^e^ Chamber &c."

Endorſed by Sir Francis "29^t^ *of Julye* 1568. *my klerks lett^r^ to me.*"

It may pleaſe yo^r^ honor to be advertyſed. That by virtue of the

Q. ma^ts pryvie Seale bearinge date the xxiiij^th of Julye procured by m^r Secretary we haue receyved the xxviij^th of the ſame of mr. Stoneley one of the Tellars of the ſcheque^r the ſom̃e of ffyve houndrethe poundes to be vſed by yo^r hono^r and by yo^r appoyntemente for the defrayinge of the Quene of Scotts charges. We attended vpon m^r. Secretarye yeſterday at his howſe by Waltham for his order for the ſafe ſendinge of the money vnto yo^u, whoſe pleſure was y^t we ſhoulde ſhewe yo^u y^t his advice is y^t by ſom̃e meanes yo^r hono^r doe practyſe w^th ſom̃e marchannte or Clothier of yorke or at wakefylde to delyver yo^u D£ there, and vpon y^r retorne of yo^r bylle vnto vs to receyve yt ageyn at London at the howſe of me. ffrancys ffryer. where yt dothe and ſhall remayne, tylle we here from yo^r hono^r whiche we looke

for w^th^ ſpede. My Ladye god be thanked is in y^e^ waye of recoveringe, havinge in effecte altogether eſcaped her fytte once or twyſe. She is preſentlye at m^r^ Stanleys of y^e^ mynte and hathe byn this vij or viij^te^ dayes paſte. M^r^ Secretarye requyred vs to wryte his hartye comendacons vnto yo^u^. He ys preſentlye at his howſe by waltham, where he hathe had iij or iiij^r^ ſhrewd fytts of an agewe, but god be thanked nowe in good hope of amendemente. We ſende vnto yo^r^ hono^r^ hereincloſed a quyttannce to y^e^ whiche yt may pleaſe yo^u^ to ſubſcribe yo^r^ name for the Receipte of the ſayd D£. And thus w^th^ o^r^ humble dewtyes vnto yo^r^ hono^r^ we comytte yowe to Almightie god. From y^e^ Courte at Hatfylde the xxix^th^ of Julye 1568./ Yo^r^ hono^rs^. humble ſſrnnts

Ro: Bestney. Fra: ffryer.

5. *The Earl of Leiceſter to Sir Francis Knollys.*

In Leiceſter's own hand and directed by him "To my very frend Sr. franncs Knowells Knight vycechãbrleyn to ye Q. mate & of her prwy councell wth all haſt. For her mats affaires."

Endorſed by Sir Francis "9'. *of auguſt* 1568. *my L. of Leceſter to me.*"

Mr Vycechamberleyn I have rec yor lẽrre in anſwer of myne touching that Q. furnyture vnto wch again her mate hath comanded me to lett ye vnderſtand ſhe ys gladd my L. Scrope hath ſo honorably cared for the ſame for aſſurly as ſhe hopeth matters wyll ſhortly grow to ſome end. Wherof what her determynacõn ys ye ſhall ſhortly more at length here frõ her. Her mats pleaſure ys to haue the lytter retorned bycauſe that Q. never vſeth any. Beſyde her pleaſure ys that ye cauſe ſirch to be made in that countrey

for the fayreſt geldings ye can gett and y^t^ ye provyde iij for that Q· owē ſaddle or ij at leaſt. And as ye haue done ſo for the reſt of her women ſo make ſhift among yo^r^ frends & gents there to borrow for thē. For the other for the Q. ſelf ſhe woll haue buye ij or iij for her. This ys all for thoſe matt^rs^ I had in chardge to wryt. Y^e^ newes be naught of conte Lodowyck. he ys overthrowen but eſcaped in p̄ſone Sō ſay the prince of orange ys in the field w^th^ a ſtrong power. I pray god he be though I dowbt yt. Thus fare ye well, my la. yo^r^ wyfe ys well agayn. but I fere her dyet and order. in haſt this vij of Auguſt. removing day.

yo^r^ long[1] frend

R. Leycester.

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[1] This is probably only a contraction of "loving."

6. *Sir Francis Knollys to the Earl of Leiceſter.*

Copy, written by a clerk, but endorſed in Sir Francis's own hand "12 *of Aguſte. my Lr̃e to my L. of leiceſter.*"

I thought to haue takin my Jernye towards Barwyke yeſterdaye as I ſignified to yo^r^ L. Becauſe yet I haue herd nothinge of hir highnes contentation thearw^th^ nether of yo^r^ L. advyce thearin & becauſe my doings here have ben conſtrued there otherwyſe then I loked for: Thearfore I haue ſtayed that Jernye vntyll wyllyam knollys & wylfords retorne, or vntyll I here furder in that behalfe.

Bycauſe this Q. hathe delight in huntynge, and for the ſatisfyinge of hyr dyet to hyr contentation, I haue takin vppon me to haue awthorytie to ſhoe hyr paſtyme in hyr hyghnes parks & chaſes hereabowtes to that

intent & purpoſe. And all the kepers hereabwtes haue obeyed thearvnto. And lately my L. of Northumberland hathe gyven ſpecyall order for the obedience of the kepers w^th^in hys rules accordynglye. And yeſterdaye m^r^ Sare, a gentilman of good countenance havinge the ov^r^ſyght of all my L. of Northumberlandes rules in thes parties made this Q. ſotche good ſporte of fayre cowrſynge in the chaſe of Byſshopdale 4 miles hence at redd deere, that ſhe confeſſed ſhe never dyd ſee fayrer cowrſes in hyr lyfe. We killed only 3 hynds, bycauſe that chaſe is not repleniſhed, and all the parks hereabowtes are alſo ſaid to be decayed of game. And ſome ſaye the Lacke of allowance for wallynge & pallynge is ſum cawſe of y^e^ decaye of the game in y^e^ parks. The greteſt and vſualſt huntinge that this Q. hitherto hathe hadd, hathe ben in my L.

Scropes owne parke and comonlye we hunte w^th^ houndes.

Here is no preaſſinge to this howſe to ſe this Q. nether is there anye preſſinge to ſee hyr abroade, otherwyſe then of neyghbors in convenient order.

And thus w^th^ my humble com̃endacions to yo^r^ L. I comytte the ſame to god.

Ffrom Bolton Caſtell this thurſdaye the 12^th^ of Auguſt 1568.

yo^r^ L. to com̃awnde.

poſt-ſcript. I mervayle I here not of my revocation nether at m^r^ ſecretaries hands nor y^r^ L.

7. *Queen Elizabeth to Lord Scrope & Sir Francis Knollys.*

Written by a clerk, with the Queen's Sign Manual. Directed "To o^r^ right truſty and welbeloved the lorde Scroope warden of o^r^

west marches towards Scotlande and to o^r^ truſtye and right welbeloved counſello^r^ S^r^ ffrancs knolls knight o^r^ vicechaм̃blayne." Endorſed by one of Sir Francis's clerks "12. of Aguſte 1568. the Q. Lr̃e to me."

ELIZABETH R. By the Queene.

Right truſty and welbeloved and truſty and right well beloved we grete yo^u^ well. Fforaſmuche as we haue at the lord Harriſſe being here with vs for the Queene of Scotts, accorded to take into o^r^ ordre the ſayd Queene's cauſes, and ſending for certayne of moſt eſtimation being of hir adv^r^ſe parti to treate therevppon, and as we certaynely intende to make ſum̃e good ende honnorable for hir, reaſonable for them, and meete for quieting of that realme, and to furder the ſame haue deviſed to haue a ſurceance of all hoſtilitie on both partes, whereunto both the Queene by hir ſundrie lr̃es and the Earle of murrey by his, hath aſſentyd and made promys, yet we ar credibly

informed, and haue ſom̃e cauſe to gather the ſame more probablie by ſuche writings as you our vicecham̃blayne lately ſent to vs, by the commaundment of the ſayd Queene, that on the partie holding with the ſayd Queene, there ar great aſſemblies made of force, and determinations to procede againſt the Earle of murray and his parti by armes and all manner acts of hoſtilitie, thereby ſeking to ordre and ende the cauſes partially and by blood, which ar committed to vs to ordre and ende indifferently without blood, wherein or honnor and reputation ſhall be muche touched. And furder we bee certenly informed that a nombre of diſordred looſe men neare vppon our borders of the eaſt and myddle marches, ar daylye in armes, and, as they ſaye, ar ſo commaunded to be by that Queene, who beſydes theyr ꝑticular hoſtilitie which they vſe

agaynſt ſuche as depende vppon the Earle of murrey, doo ſpoyle our ſubiects, and committ dayly acts of open hoſtilitie with a playne intention to make a kynde of warr, to thintent thereby to eſcape the aunſwering by ordre of the lawe of the marches, ſuche offences as allredy they haue committed, and ar bounde to make ſatisfaction: wee haue thought mete not to ſuffer theſe manner of procedings contrary to the Queenes promis and agrement, and contrary to all honnorable good meaning, hauing reſpect how favorably wee have delt with the ſayd Queene in this hir diſtreſſe. and therefore as wee haue allredy writton vnto hir in this behalf, ſo wee woolde haue yo^{u} in o^{r} name to breake playnely with hir herein, and let hir knowe that ſeing wee haue entred into the ordering and ending of hir cauſes by quietnes at hir re-

queſt, and that the Earle of murray and his parte doo ceaſſe all hoſtilitie, and ar content to abyde our ordre, we cannot but fynde o^r hono^r muche touched herein to ſee hir party by gathering of force to ſeeke to avenge hir cauſe, whereof ꝑcaſe they may allſo myſſe, and as it were thereby in the ſight of the world to delude vs. And therefore yo^u ſhall aſſure hir, if hir party ſhall in this manner procede, wee knowe what wee have to doo to preſerve our hono^r. And herevppon what ſo ever anſwer ſhe ſhall make wherein wee may be abuſed, yf yo^u fynde that hir partie contynueth by hoſtilitie to invade the other party, being not thereto provoked, we will yo^u our warden of that weſt marches to repayre to our frontier, and there by all good pollicie and ſecret manner to procure as yo^u beſt can that ſuche as be of the Queenes parte vppon that fron-

tier and doo vſe hoſtilitie agaynſt the others may ſharply taſt of ſume diſpleaſures, and the contrary parte fele allſo ſom̄e ſuche favo^{rs} as borders ar woont, whan they ar ſecretly wynked vppon, to doo. And if nede bee, for the better furderance hereof, you may allſo have conference with S^{r} John fforſter to concurre herein with yo^{r} deviſes, to whome wee haue allſo writton in this behalf. and of yo^{r} doings and intentions herein wee woolde be ſpedely adv^{r}tiſed, for if wee ſhall be thus abuſed, wee meane that the Queene ſhall not have ſuche free conferrence wth hir partie, nor they haue ſuche free acceſſe in to our realme as hitherto they have had thereby to abuſe vs. we ſende vnto yo^{u} herewth an abſtract of a l̄re ſent from the m^{r}ſhall of Barwyk touching theſe adv^{r}tiſem̄ets as he hath receyved, w^{ch} when yo^{u} ſhall have p̱vſed yo^{u} may ſhewe vnto the ſayd

Queene. Yeeven vnd^{r} o^{r} Signet at o^{r} mano^{r} of Whaddon the xijth of Auguſt the xth yere of o^{r} Reigne.

8. *Queen Elizabeth to Sir Francis Knollys.*

Written by a clerk, with the Queen's Sign Manual. Directed "To o^{r} truſty and right welbeloved counſello^{r} s^{r} ffrances knollys knight o^{r} vichamberlein Treaſorer of our chamber." Endorſed by Sir Francis "*y^{e}. 2. of September.* 1568. *the Q. highnes to me.*"

ELIZABETH R. By the Quene.

Truſty and right welbeloved counſello^{r} we grete yo^{u} well. We have ſeen yo^{r} lres of the xxixth of the laſt moneth and ſuch others as were directed to vs from the Lords of Scotland ſerving the Quene. And by yours we do p̨ceave the Quenes erneſt deſire, that we ſhuld ſtaye the Erle of Murreys rigorous mañer of dealing in executing of the proces of the late parliament, wherby it ſe-

meth that ſundry parſons dwelling nere Edenburgh will before the xiijth of this moneth come vnto him and be ſworne to his party, if we do not ſpedely ꝑvide remedy for the ſame. Wherfore we have thought mete ſpedely to addreſſe o^{r} lr̄es vnto the ſaid Erle of Murrey, and likewiſe to advertiſe the Lords of Scotland w^{ch} now did write vnto vs of our intention. And becauſe you ſhall well ꝑceave what we have written, we have given order that the copies of the ſaid lr̄es ſhalbe herwth diſpatched, w^{ch} when you have well conſidered, we wold have you to impart the contents therof to the Quene of Scots, Or if you think good to lett her ſee the copies of the ſame lr̄es And becauſe her diſpoſic̄on herin may be ſatiſfied, we do ſend the lr̄es directed to the Erle of Murrey to yo^{r} hands to be ſent to the ſaid Erle by the weſt borders as ſhe ſhall direct, orells to

the Lord Hunſden [1] o[r] govern[r] of Barwick to be by him ſent to the ſaid Erle. According whervnto we require yo[u] to p̄cede, and therof to advertiſe vs. And likewiſe to lett vs vnderſtand the Quenes determination whō ſhe will appoint com̄iſſ. . . . .[2] for hir, and whith[r] they may not be at york the . . . .[2] of this moneth. and if it might be ſoner we w . . . .[2] have ben the gladder. And before theſe late new trobles ch . . . .[2] we found not but the Erle of Murrey was content to have had the cauſe hard in the begiñing of this moneth. And now as we ſhall heare anſwer from that Quene for hir com̄iſſioners, and from the Erle of Murrey, So will we order ours to be at york, w[ch] we truſt may be by the end of this

[1] Lord Hunſden was the brother of Sir Francis's wife.

[2] Theſe words are incomplete, owing to the edge of the MS. having been damaged.

moneth or ſhortly after. We have of late receaved two lr̄es from the Quene of Scotts, the one was written before Borthick returned thither, the other came this morning w^t the lr̄es from the Lords of Scotland; and becauſe theſe o^r lr̄es w^ch we now write are anſwers to the materiall contents therof, you ſhall pray the Quene to find no lack in that we do not make anſwer to her ſelf by any lr̄e of our owne, aſſuring hir that in this o^r progreſs we are ſo impeached w^t o^r travell, that we could not have leaſure therto, But vpon the next occaſion we will write, and you may adde that of all labors we moſt miſlike to write, for ſuerly we never almoſt write any lr̄es to any prince, and mo we have written to hir ſence ſhe came into o^r realme, than ever we did ſence o^r reigne to all Princes chriſtined, yea to all parſon̄s extant.

Where in hir lr̃es ſhe ſemeth that the reports made to vs of wrongs com̃itted by hir obedient ſubiects vpon ours are not to be p̃ved; We will cauſe inquirye to be truly made, So as ſhe ſhalbe particulerly advertiſed of that w^ch^ ſhalbe to vs informed.

You ſhall alſo require hir to remēber of what importance it may be to this hir cauſe if the Duke bring any forain force w^t^ him into Scotland for we ſhall not beare therw^th^, and ſo we have always from the begiñing declared o^r^ determination. geven vnder o^r^ Signet at o^r^ mano^r^ of Ewelme the ſecond of September 1568 the x^th^ yere of o^r^ reigne.

9. *The Earl of Leiceſter to Sir Francis Knollys.*

Written by Leiceſter himſelf, but directed in a different hand "To my verye frend S^r^.

ffrancis knowlles knyght vizchamberleyn to the Quenes ma^tie gve this."

Endorſed by Sir Francis ".3. *of September* .1568. *my L. of Leſcyter to me.*"

M^r vycechamberleyn, yo^u muſt hold me excuſed y^t I haue not anſwered yo^r lēres er this tyme—ptely I dowbt not but yo^u vnderſtand I had occaſion to be at my howſe at Kenelworth and y^t tyme ſpent and almoſt x or xij days in ſuch ſort as I could not convenyently wryte, and ptly ſynſe hauing lytle leaſhur I pceaued by m^r ſecretary y^t he had ſupplyed my place in adv^rtyſing yo^u that w^c I ſhuld haue done, & therfore I took y^e longer tyme w^n hauing this convenyent meſſenger I thought to deferre no longer, leſt yo^u might think me all to gether forgetfull. And touching the matt^er yo^u wroght of her ma^te ys loth to ſend any horſes for that Q. hauing verry fewe for her owē ſaddle & the reſt nothing worth or met for her to ſend. But

ys ſtill of mynd that ther may be better provyded among the gentlemen of y^t^ country, w^c^ yf yt cannott be I pray yo^u^ ſend word that her ma^te^ may vnderſtand the ſame & I wyll do what I can though hetherto I could not bring this to paſſe. We hear no ſtir of newes here. her ma^te^ ys well & all yo^r^ ffrends her. So I comytt yo^u^ to god & bid yo^u^ fare well in haſt at Wallingford this 3 of September.

Yo^r^ aſſured frend
R. LEYCESTER.

10. *Sir Francis Knollys to the Earl of Leiceſter.*

Rough draft written by a clerk with corrections in Sir Francis's own handwriting, (the latter printed in italics). Endorſed: ".12. *of September* .1568. *my letr to my L. of Leſcyter.*"

I have recevid yo^r^ L. *verye* ~~gentill~~ curteys Lr̃e of the .3. of this monthe, and p̱ceave *alſo* therbye yo^r^ L. lacke

of conveenient ſtore of horſes to be ſparid ~~for am~~ for this Q. ſadle, And that her highnes dothe thinke that better ꝑviſion mighte be made heare. by me amongs the gentillmen of this contrey to ſerve that torn, ~~But furelie my L.~~ *ſo that* I am vtterlie vnhable to gett ſuche horſes ~~for any mony in this contrey~~ *in theſe partes, yᵗ are convenyent,* and nowe we ſtand in worſe caſe then euʳ we did, for one horſe of myne, and an other of her owne that of late this Q. hathe moſte ~~v ridden vpon~~ *vſed for hyr owne ſaddle* are nowe become thone ſicke, and thother lame, ~~wherfore we have nowe more nede of yoʳ L. helpe in this behalfe, And furelie I can neither ſee nor heare of any convenient horſes in this contrey that are to be had for monie, and fitt to be ꝑſẽtid frome her highnes accordinglie,~~ Whearfore I ſhall deſiere yoʳ L. ~~*good*~~ to have ſome good

conſiderato hearof that her highnes by yo^r L. advice and order may ſpedilier relife this neſeſſetie heare ~~for this contrey is the barreneſte of good horſes that ever I came in, And~~ *But ſurely my L.* as this ~~contrey~~ *owt part of yorkſhere* is barren, mowntanous, and wild to loke on, ſo the ~~ge~~ gentillmen hearabouts are but Ruede and ſymple furniſhed. *And thus comendyng y^e diſcharge of my ſervice here ſo tediouſly contynved to you^r L. good word. I ſhall et cet .12. of ſeptember .1568.*

11. *Queen Elizabeth to Sir Francis Knollys.*

Written by a clerk, with the Queen's Sign Manual. Directed "To our truſtie and right welbeloued counſailor Sr frances knolles knight our vicechamberling & &c." Endorſed by Sir Francis ".2. *of octobr.* 1568. ~~my L.~~ *the Q. hyghnes lettr to me.*"

ELIZABETH R. By the Queene.

Truſtie and right welbelouid we greete you well. Foraſmuche as we finde by ſondry Arguments, that the Queene there, of late hath much increaſed her boldnes, and that her frends allſo abrode vſe many deuiſes to exorte her vp to encountre vs and the quietnes of or Eſtate; and that at this tyme whileſt her Cauſe is to be harde, ſhe will omitt no meanes to recouer fauor and allowance amongeſt ſuche of or Subiects, as are to be eaſely drawen to her; We think it very neceſſary, that you vſe

the more circumſpection in prohibiting the Acceſſe, that ſeemith to vs is ſuffred for ſuche of our Subiects to com to her preſence, as ought to haue nothing to doo w^t^ her: And therin you ſhall doo well w^t^out notifieng any thing to her ſelfe or to hers, to lett all other Engliſh men learne how it ſhall not becom any of them but ſuche as neceſſarily are appoynted by you to wayte vpon the ſeruice of her, to reſorte to that place, or to com into her ſight at any tyme. And though we meane not that ſhe ſhuld finde her ſelfe to be heerby kepte as a priſonner, yet truly we ſee ſuche perill as weare not to be recouered, if a free acceſſe ſhall be ꝑmitted for all parſons to com and ſpeake w^t^ her, or to com into her preſence, where ſhe may vſe her ſpeeches to them. And conſidering how earneſt yo^r^ ſelfe allwais hath bene w^t^ vs (w^ch^ ſurely we ſee no

cauſe to diſallowe) that ſhe ſhulde not be any wiſe exalted in credit or eſtimation: We maruaile that you doo not more reſtrayne reſorte of nombers to her preſence; w^ch wolde be forſeene indirectly w^tout opening the ſame to her ſelfe. And ſo we earneſtly require you to ſee doñ, And that ſpecially now whileſt her Cauſe ſhall be harde; for we are credibly enfourmed that ſhe is counſailed to ſett a greate countenance vpon her maters, and ſo therby to gayne more credit, than is meete ſhe ſhuld haue, excepte ſhe had better deſeruid towards God and the worlde. Yeven vnder o^r Signet at o^r Caſtle of windſor the ij^de daie of october .1568. the x^th yeere of o^r Raigne.

12. *Sir Francis Knollys to Sir William Cecil.*

Copy, written by a clerk, but endorſed in Sir Francis's own hand: "*.9. of octobʳ .1568. my letter to mʳ Secretarie.*" The original, as mentioned by Froude, Hiſtory of England, vol. ix. page 286, is among the MSS. Queen of Scots, Rolls Houſe.

My L. grace of Norfolks ſendinge for me to bolton to attende uppō him here thurſdaye laſt, I made my repare hether accordyngly meninge to ſtaye here vntyll mondaye next: As towching yᵉ matters of the coṁiſſyon yᵗ his grace and the reſt haue from hyr highnes, hys grace hathe vmparted vnto me of all things thervnto appertayninge, & what hathe hetherto paſſed, and althoe the matters be to wayghtie, for my weake capaſſitie to preſume to vtter any opinion of myn owne therof: yet I ſe that my L. herrys for his partye laboreth a reconſiliation to be had wᵗhowte the

extremytie of odious accuſations, my L. Ledington alſo ſaythe to me that he wold wyſhe theſe matters to be eanded in dulce maner, ſo that it might be done w^th^ ſafetye: of the reſt you can conceyve by the advertiſments & wrytings ſent vp by o^r^ com̃yſſioners.

I am ſuer m^r^ Morby is aryved at the Cowrt w^th^ doctor Marſhiall (yf god hath p̃ſpered his Jernye) by this tyme. And I ſuppoſe you maye eaſylie make doctor marſhiall preache at Pawle croſſe to yo^r^ contentac̃on, and great diſlykinge of the papiſts.

I meane to take the 300£ w^th^ me to Bolton that m^r^ Sadler offereth to deliuer vnto me.

And thus w^th^ moſt harty com̃endations, I ſhall comyt you to god. ffrō yorke the .9^th^. of October .1568.

poſt ſcript. After I had cloſed this letter I receyved hir highnes letter

of the .2. and yours of the .4th. hearof, that had ben at Bolton & ſo wear retorned hether to me. I haue anſwerd the matter of hir highnes letter I truſt ſufficiently to hir contentac̃on, in my lr̃e to you of the .4th. hereof, yet this admonition I woll not forgett. I am glad to here by you that hir highnes is wakened to loke to hir ſuertie, and god I truſt will defend hir from all wyked ſpirites. My L. Herris I take a p̱teſtant temporall onely. I thank you for yor newes as well fro beyond the ſeas, as of the helthie eſtate of my wyfes.

13. *Queen Elizabeth to Sir Francis Knollys.*

Written by a clerk, with the Queen's Sign Manual. Directed "To o^r^ truſty and right welbeloved counſailo^r^ S^r^ francs knollys knight o^r^ vichamberlein," with the addition in Sir William Cecil's hand "to be ſent ſub york to bolton W. CECILLE."

Endorſed by Sir Francis ".16. *Octobr^e^*.1568. *the Q. lett^r^ to me.*"

ELIZABETH R. By the Quene.

Truſty and right welbeloued Counſello^r^ we grete yow well. We haue of late receaued kowledg from our Comiſſioners at York, in what ſort the Quene of Scotts Comiſſioners there haue in her name charged the other party, and how they haue anſwered the ſame: Whervpon we find ſuch difficulty how to direct our Comiſſioners by way of writing vnto them, as we haue thought it better for the expedition of the cauſe, to haue one of our Comiſſioners to

come vpp to vs, and one of ether ſide alſo of the other parties, w^t^ whom we meane by way of ſpeche ſo to treate and informe our ſelf, as therby we ſhall other ways and more eaſely growe to ſome good reſolution, than we ſee it poſſible to be don by way of writing vnto our Com̃iſſioners. For which purpoſe at this preſent we haue written to that entent to our Com̃iſſioners, And therof ment at this preſent time to haue written to the Quene our good ſiſter to thend ſhe might vnderſtand our good meaning: But hauing our right hand by meanes of riding this preſent day ſo ſtrayned, as we can not w^t^out great payne write only our name, We haue cauſed our Secretery to write this lr̃e vnto yow, willing yow to impart this matter vnto hir, and to ſhew hir the cauſe why we write not at this tyme, aſſuring her that we

meane to expedite this matter vpon the coming of the parties hither as ſpedely as any wiſe the matter will ſuffer.

Yow may alſo require the ſaid Quene to beare w^t vs, in that we haue not by ſpeciall writing ſent anſwer to hir late lres, for that the matters therin conteyned were before tyme anſwered, And furder alſo hir ſaid ſeruāt Beton had at his acceſs to vs w^t the ſaid lres our mind for anſwer to the content of hir ſaid lres. Yeuen vnder our Signet at our Caſtle of windſor the xvj^th of October 1568 the x^th yere of our Reigne.

14. *Sir William Cecil to Sir Francis Knollys.*

In Cecil's own hand, but directed by a clerk "To the right honorable Sr Frances knolles knight her mats vicechamblain, and of her priuie counsell &cr." 29

Endorsed by Sir Francis "~~30~~ octobr .1568. mr secretarie to me."

Sr /. this frydaye late in ye night I being at my house at westm receaved your lre of ye 25. by which yow doo very wisely remēbre how pillooſs it may be if ye Q. of Scotts ſhuld ſmell of any hardneſs towards hir, leſs ſhe wold ſcape from yow of wc matter I have wrytten by ye Q. Mats Cōmādmēt .2. dayes paſt as I dovt not but yow have befor this tyme ꝑceaved. And therfor lyke as I dovt not but yow will have care, ſo will I at my retorn to ye Court ꝑcure as much meane as I cā. and in ye meane tyme I thynk good yt wt all ſpede yow doo anſwer vs, how

ſhe might be cõducted to Tutbury wher I ſee hir Ma^ty will have hir and for y^t purpooſe on is ſent thyther to make ꝑviſiõ of wyne beare and woode./ and for other thȳgs we muſt lern frõ yow what is of neceſſitie to be had before ſhe can remove./

and ſo I end being almoſt ſlepȳg. 29 octob^r. 1568

Yours aſſuredly
W. Cicille.

15. *Queen Elizabeth to Lord Scrope & Sir Francis Knollys.*

The whole letter in Sir William Cecil's hand, with the Queen's Sign Manual. Directed by a clerk "To our Right and welbeloued the Lord Scrope warden of our marches anempſt Scotland, and our Truſty and right welbeloued Coũſello^r S^r ffrances Knollys Knight our vichamberleyn."

Endorſed by Sir Francis "30. *of october* 1568. *the Q. lett^r to vs.*"

Elizabeth R.

Right truſty and welbeloved, and

truſty and welbeloved we grete yow well. We have this daye ſene the lr̃es of yow the vichaṁblay̆ to or ſecretory dated ye 25. of this month, before recept wherof, vppō good occaſions we coṁannded our ſecretory to wryte to yow, that yow ſhuld have good regard to the chardg of yt Quene, and that we thovght it good that ſhe wer ſpedely brought furder into our realme, to avoyde ye daṅger of eſcaping. And now perceaving by your laſt lr̃es, how dowtfull a matter it is to make a ſure accōpt of hir, having ſo maṅy meanes whan ſhe ſhall be therto diſpoſed to eſcape frō thence into Scotland, We ar in dede more erneſtly bent to admoniſh both yow ye L. Scroope and yow or vichaṁblay̆, to be very circūſpect in the charg coṁitted to yow, and to take ſome ſpedy ordre that ſuch nōbres of horſſmen as ſhe hath there

attendȳg vppō hir being of Scotland, may be ſpedely ſent awey, and that ſhe be not ſuffred to goo ovt of y^t^ Caſtle w^t^out your owne preſencies or at y^e^ leſt allweiſe on of yow, and that w^t^ ſuch company of yours, as ſhe maye nether of hir ſelf eſcape frō yow, nor yet be taken from yow. and nevertheleſs whyleſt yow ſhall be thus vigilant, we wold have yow well conſider how ſhe might ſpedely be brovght to Tvtbury caſtle, and to provyde as mañy thyngs that ſhall be therto neciſſary as yow can, and of ſuch as yow cā not p̄vide, and yet ſhallbe neceſſary, to advertiſe vs w^t^ all ſpede, for if we thovght yow cold conveniently conduct hir to Tvtbury, we wold have no tyme omitted. And becauſe yow ſhall both know what cauſe we have to dovt hir eſcaping, and y^t^ ſhe may not thynk any thyng yow ſhall doo to be ſtrañg, we aſſure yow y^t^ we ar credibly

advertiſed ovt of Frañce y^t^ hir greteſt frends ther doo make accompt ſecretly, that ſhe ſhall abovt the begȳning of this Novembre, be conveyed into ſcotland ageynſt our will, and therw^t^ we doo joyne y^t^ which we alſo ar dūly informed from ſcotland y^t^ ſhe hath very lately wrytten both to Argile and Huntly that they ſhall levy ther forcëes, and come w^t^ them to y^e^ weſt borders pretendying that ſhe ſhall be pvt to liƀty by vs to goe into Scotland, whervppon yow may well judge . . .[1] it is for our honor, and for mañy other . . . . .[1] have good regard to hir, and therfor we can . . . . .[1] thynk yow over circūſpect herin, and if ſhe ſhall fynd any offence herw^t^, yow may planly ſaye y^t^ yow ar warned of an intention and practiſe

[1] Theſe words are illegible owing to the edge of the MS. having been damaged.

of certen hir ſubiects tendyng to abvſe yow in the charg cõmitted to yow, and ſo lookyng well to your charg, yow maye w^t^ good words anſwer hir and reqre hir to be contẽt w^t^ your doyngs./ And ſo yow ſhall aſſone as we maye here frõ yow, have our ordre to remove hir, wherby your care may be deminiſhed, and we alſo more free from the dovts we have cauſe to cõceave./ Herin we wiſh yow to vſe as much ſecrecy as yow maye, of o^r^ miſtruſt of hir, for otherwiſe ſhe may deſpatly attẽpt y^t^ w^c^ is not to be eaſily w^t^ſtand.

Gyvẽ at Hãptõ Court y^e^ 30. of octob̃ 1568.

16. *Queen Elizabeth to Sir Francis Knollys.*

The whole letter in Sir William Cecil's hand, with the Queen's Sign Manual. Directed by a clerk "To our truſty and right welbeloued Counſellor, s^r^ frañces Knollys Knight, our vichãberlaỹ."

Endorſed by Sir Francis ".7. *nouembr̃*.1568. *the Q. lett^r^ to me.*"

ELIZABETH R.

Truſty and Welbeloved we grete yow well, we have ſene your lr̃es wrytten the .2. of this month, by which yow make anſwer to our ſecretoryes lr̃es dated y^e^ 29. of octob̃. wherin becauſe we perceave yow make ſome difficultëes not only how yow ſhall remove y^t^ Quene from Bolton, but alſo how yow ſhall conveniently contynew hir ther above .3. weks and laſt how loth yow ar to take chardg of hir at Tvtbury, being a place ſtrang̃ to yow, as yow did alſo in other your lr̃es of the 31. to

our ſayd ſecretory therof make mẽtion, we have thought good to lett yow vnderſtand the ſame that both o^r ſecretory was comãded to wryte to yow by vs, and that we our ſelve wrote to y^e L. ſcroope and yow by our own lres ſent hence y^e. ~~laſt~~ 30. of octob̃. which yow cold not receave at y^e wrytyg of theſe laſt dated y^e ~~29~~ .2. of this mõth./

We doo erneſtly deſyre to have y^t Quene ſo looked vnto there whyleſt ſhe ſhall remaỹ at Bolton, as by ſuffrãce of hir nõbres of horſſmẽ to attend vppõ hir, ſhe ſhuld not have comodite to eſcape. and wher yow cõonly wryte y^t yow cã not reſtrayne hir as we p^s ſcribe yow, except ſhe ſhuld be kept as a p^s ſonor we wold have hir ſo kept and ordred as nether ſhe ſhuld eſcape, nor yet be reputed to be a p^s ſonor for if yow will deminiſh hir trayne of horſſmẽ which ar not neceſſary for hir, and will not

lett hir ryde abrode but in your owne company, and thoſe to be allweiſe in nōbre ſupior over hirs and not to ryde farr abrode from y^e^ howſe, but in cōvenient placēes to take y^e^ ayre, we thynk y^t^ nether ſhe ſhuld counted to be kept as a priſonor, nor yet ſhuld if ſhe wer diſpoſed eſcape. And though ſhe ſhuld miſlyke of this mañer of reſtreynt yet we allow rather of hir ſuerty w^t^ hir miſlykyng than to avoyde hir miſlykyng to be abvſed. And yet nevtheleſs we wold have yow to make the grovnd of theſe your doings to come of advertiſemēts gyven yow from y^e^ weſt borders, of y^e^ practiſēes of certen in Scotland, to recover hir from your Cuſtody as at more larg yow may perceave by our lres of y^e^ 30. wherin we did ſpecially preſcribe to yow y^t^ in nowiſe ſhe ſhuld vnderſtand of theſe directions to come from hēce./

As for hir removing to Tutbury at this preſent we ar inclyned to pavſe thervppon a whyle. thynkyng that wᵗin a ſhort tyme vppon the hearȳg of hir cauſe, we ſhall make ſome other reſolution. and for yᵗ, we thynk wᵗin 20. or 30. dayes to come to ſome fynall determination, we reqre yow to contynew yᵗ payfull ſervice which allredy yow have ſuſteaned to kepe hir there at Bolton for 20. or 25. dayes, and becauſe we ꝑceave yᵗ proviſions for horſſmeat grow to a decay yow may the rather, take occaſion to deminiſh hir cūpany having horſs. for we ſëe no reaſon why ſhe ſhuld have any nōbre of horſſëës there but for hir owne ſelf and .3. or 4. more, conſiderȳg yᵉ L. ſcroope and yow wᵗ your ſvants ar ſufficient to wayte on hir whā ſhe ſhall take yᵉ ayre./ In the meane tyme we aſſure yow we will omytt no good meanes to eaſe yow of yᵗ

burden, which haſtily now cā not be doone, vntill we have hard and ſene ye end of hir cauſe, wherin we meane not to ſpend mañy dayes, aft̄ hir Com̄iſſiō ſhall come, for which ye Biſhopp of Roſs, and ye L. Herriſs, have on thurſday laſt ſent hir ſ vant Borthyck./

This daye ye ſayd B. and Herriſs have bene wt vs, to notefy yt ye Q. of Scotts, hath had knolledg of or intentiō to remove hir to Tvtbury. whervnto we anſwered, that we had not gyve any ſuch direction, but it was lykly vppō ſuch knolledg as yow had, of ye practiſēes intended in ſcotland to cōvey hir ovt of your Cuſtody, ſome ſuſpicion might be conceaved by yow as thynkyng Tutbury in that reſpect a metar place. and ſo ye Q. might thervppō ſo dowt. Nevertheleſs lyke as we had not directed hir to remove, ſo we did not ſēe but it wer metar for hir to be at Tutbury, or ſome ſuch

more cõvenient place than Bolton is this wyntar tyme, and ſo we left them dovtfull what ſhuld ſuccede./

We allow very well of your lr̃es lately wrytten to vs, and cã not but thy̆k your adviſe gyven therin to vs, very good of it ſelff, and to p̱cede from on y^t^ meaneth ſyncerly towards our eſtate, aſſuryng yow that in this matter we intend to follow the adviſe of ſuch Counſellors, as we p̱ceave have moſt regard to provyde for our q̱etnes and ſuerty. and becaûſe we meane to have y^e^ opinion and allowãce of y^e^ more p̱t, we have by adviſe of o^r^ Counſell, ſent for y^e^ gretar part of o^r^ Nobillite being of y^e^ degrëe of Erles to be here w^t^ vs./

We wold have yow aſſure y^e^ L. ſcroope y^t^ we meane not to be forgetfull of ſome cõvenient conſideratiõ of his ſr̃vice./

Gyven vnd^r^ o^r^ Signett at Hamptõ Court y^e^ vij^th^ of Nouẽ. 1568.

CICILLE.

17. *Sir Francis Knollys to his Wife.*

In Sir Francis's own hand and endorſed by him "30 *decembr̄* 1568. *my lett^r to my Wyffe.*" Directed in another hand "To his very lovinge wyffe the ladie katherin knowllis."

M^r Secretarie informed me of you^r late ſykenes, wherw^th I was the more diſqwyated bycauſe I feared that, hyr ma^ties vngratefull denyall off my comyng to the cowrt this chriſtmas, added to the denyalle of o^r ſvte for Newelme & other myſconſtruings of me & myne, w^thowte any cvmfort at all to o^r neceſſitie (ſaving onely ſhals that haue no curnels), had ben ſome ꝑvocation of you^r ſykenes, whervppon my diſcontented mynde grewe to be ſo motche y^e more full frayght w^th diſqwyate, that in my laſt letter to the Q. ma^tie I was abowte (aft^r that I had wryton ſvmwhat playnly to hyr ma^tie in

hyr owne matters) to haue wrytton theſe wordes folowyng; ~~that~~ as towchyng myn owne particularitie, among all my greeffes off mynde, it ~~was~~ is not the leaſte to vnderſtand that my wyffe is readie to dye in diſcomfort & in myſerable ſtate towards hyr children even in you^r ma^ties cowrte: But aft^r that I had wrytton thus motche in my copie, & that I was even readie to have writton it in the letter ſelffe, m^r Secretaries lett^r came to me ſygnefying that youe were well amended,[1] wherby I abſtayned from

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[1] The amendment in Lady Knollys's health was only temporary. She died at Hampton Court on the 15th January, 1569, a fortnight after the date of this letter. She was buried in the Chapel of St. Edmund at Weſtminſter Abbey. The following lines from her epitaph teſtify to her having been the mother of ſixteen children:

"Illa tibi proles ſex et bis quinque marito
Protulit aequalis foemina maſque fuit."

puttyng thoſe wordes in my ſayd lett[r]: Nevertheles my hart is not vnburdened and how long it woll contayne I knoe not: althoe in the mean tyme it is ſome eaſe to me to vtter ſvmwhat to youe that is an other my ſelffe in myn owne particular matters: But as, in tyme of you[r]

Sir Francis lies at Rotherfield Greys, the place of his birth, where the monument erected to his memory by his ſecond ſon, William Earl of Banbury, ſtill remains in good preſervation. Lady Knollys was a great favourite with the Queen, but, as Elizabeth was not in the habit of allowing her affections to ſtand in the way of her intereſts, Sir Francis's reiterated requeſts to be releaſed from his irkſome duty which kept him away from his family, were not liſtened to. It was not till after his wife's death that Elizabeth gave Sir Francis permiſſion to leave as ſoon as he had aſſiſted at Mary's removal to Tutbury. In Cecil's Diary is found the entry: "Febr. 3[rd]. Sir Francis Knolles came from the Scotts Quene at Tutbury, Mr. Henry Knolles went thyther."

helthe, it may be a refreſſhyng to youe thus to breake o^r^ myndes together, ſo to arme you^r^ ſelffe agaynſt ſykenes, youe mvſt make god you^r^ refuge, & calle vppon hym that theſe worldly ſorowes oppreſſe youe not to y^e^ hyndrance of you^r^ helthe: for god woll not leave vs, he woll provyde for vs: is the cowrt vnmete for vs, or have we not to mayntayne vs in the cowrte? Whye yet the cvntrye woll ſerve vs yf we abaſe o^r^ myndes to o^r^ habilitie: for althoe I am to prowde to lyve in the cowrte and to be abridged of cowntenance or lyvyng orderlye appertenant: ſo on the other ſyde to lyve in the cvntrie, I can hvmble my ſelffe w^th^owte ſhame to abaſe my cowntenance as lowe as my lyvyng, & to ymprynt in my children an example theroff to kepe theym from the gallowſe & alle worldly ſhames. I haue had a good

wyll to ſerve hyr ma^tie w . . . .[1] but in m^r ſecretaries abſence in this ſervice I was to rvde & vndiſ . . . .[1] & ſynce I haue ben to favorable, & alwayes of owld I am vncomform . . . .[1] and ſome tyme intollerable thoroe a foolyſhe ſcrupulous conſcyence that I can not make a noſe of waxe. Hyr ma^tie ſaythe ſhe truſts me, and I beleeve ſhe thinks me not falce, Alſo hir ma^tie ſaythe ſhe loves youe, and natūe p̄vokes hyr thervnto: But what followethe hereoff, hyr ma^tie hathe denyed vs o^r ſvte that myght beſt have releeved vs w^th leeſte charge & burden to hyr ſelffe even in this truſtie tyme, & by reaſon of hir truſte ſhe putteth me to more paynes, more carefull perryls, & more tedious greeffes than ſhe dothe any other man, (but whan

[1] Theſe words are incomplete owing to the edges of the MS. having been damaged.

the Chawncyllorſhipp of y^e^ dowchie was fallen I was not truſ . . . .[1] or els I had no wytt to exequte it, beyng ſo comodious an offyce, & yet his wytt y^t^ hathe it or any o . . . .[1] wytt wold haue ben more troubled w^th^ my truſt here, than my wytt cov . . . .[1] ben w^th^ that offyce).[2] And for y^e^ owtward love that hyr ma^tie^ bayres youe, ſhe makes youe often wepe for vnkyndnes to the great danger of you^r^ helthe: So that yf theſe be the onely frutes of you^r^ loove & my truſte, happye were we, yf we were diſgraced I from my truſt & youe from youer loove, y^t^ we myght retyre vs by juſt occaſion to leade a cvntrie poore lyffe abaſed from o^r^ cowrtly cowntenance: Whervnto I

[1] Theſe words are incomplete, owing to the edges of the MS. having been damaged.

[2] The paſſage encloſed in brackets was added by Sir Francis, and written on the oppoſite page.

thank god I am redie to prepare my ſelffe for my parte yf youe ſhall lyke theroff.

I haue wrytton of all myn owne matters to my klarkes, wheroff this bayrer is p̄vie. And nowe it ſemethe I can not be holden motche longer from youe: Wherfore vntyll o^r metyng, I ſhall deſyre youe to haue me in remembrance to my ladie Stafford, my ladie Cicille, myſtres Blanche & myſtres Dorithie et cet^r. And thus w^th moſt hartie com̃endations, I betake youe & you^rs to gods moſt mercifull p̱vidence. W^th my remembrance to myſtres Beſſe Knollys[1] I haue ſent hyr a newe mylled

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[1] "My ladie Stafford" was either the wife of Sir Edward Stafford, or more probably Urſula, widow of Lord Stafford and daughter of Sir Richard Pole. As one of her daughters was called Dorothy, the "myſtres Dorithie" moſt likely refers to her. "My ladie Cicille" was the wife of Sir William Cecil, afterwards

pece of gold to laye vpp in hyr ſtore boxe, & thankes for hyr glooves. I truſt youe haue not forgotten to joyne my newyers gyfte w^th^ you^rs^ & to delyu^re^ it accordinglye.

from Bolton the laſte of december 1568.

you^r^ louyng huſband

F. KNOLLYS.

Lord Burleigh. "Myſtres Blanche" was a daughter of Sir Thomas Appary (or ap Harry), alias Vaughan, who was connected with Cecil by marriage, and, according to Lodge's Illuſtrations, was appointed Comptroller of the Houſehold and Maſter of the Court of Wards the year after Queen Elizabeth's acceſſion. "Blanch Appary," as ſhe is called in the liſt of Elizabeth's new year's gifts for 1574, given in Nichols's "Progreſſes of Elizabeth," was attached to the Queen's Houſehold.

"Myſtres Beſſe knollys" was one of Sir Francis's own daughters. In the liſts of the Queen's new year's gifts Elizabeth Knollys is mentioned as one of the Houſehold to whom many of them were given over, till the year 1588, when ſhe appears as Lady Layton, wife of Sir Thomas Layton, Captain of Guernſey.

18. *Queen Elizabeth to Lord Scrope & Sir Francis Knollys.*

Written by a clerk, with the Queen's Sign Manual. Directed "To o^r right truſty & welbelouid the Lord Scrope, warden of o^r weſt marches towards Scotland, and to our truſty and right welbelouid Counſelle^r ſſr francis knolles knight, o^r vicechamb̃lain, and threſorer of o^r chambre." Endorſed by Sir Francis ".20.^mo *Januarii* .1568.[1] *y^e Q. lett^r to vs.*"

ELIZABETH R.

Right truſtye and right welbeloved, and r. truſty and welbeloved counſellor we grete yow well. foraſmuch as we ar very credibly aſſured that the place there wher our ſiſtar the Quene of Scotts is at Bolton, is now at this ſeaſon of the yere ſo incom̃odiooſe not onely by great coldnes for the perſon of o^r ſayd ſiſtar, but alſo by y^e lack of nedefull victell

[1] According to the new ſtyle this and the following three letters belong to the year 1569.

for hir and yow there, not in reaſon to be releved or remedied, vntill the ſeaſon of Somar ſhall bring furth new fructs of the erth, we have determined that yow twoo ſhall furthwt bring and conduct hir in all good ſort as the tyme maye ſuffer it, to our howſe of Tutbury in the Rule of or right truſty and right welbeloved Cooſyn the Erle of Shrewſbury, and to that end we have written our lre to the ſayd Quene, which at tyme convenient yow ſhall delyver to hir, and declare this our meaning to hir, which being grownded vppon ſuch a neceſſite not remediable, ſhe muſt not miſlyke nor gyve any delaye therto, and in dede ſhe ought the more to allow hereof, for that ſhe ſhall be by this meane neror to vs a great deale, and ſo as matters may fall owt, if the lack ſhall not be in hir, ſhe maye have more redye oportvnite to come to our ꝑſelve as

ſhe hath requyred. and how ſo ever ſhe may by ſiniſter cownſell moved to ſeke herin delaye, we will and chardg yow not to yeld therto but in dede to bring hir from thence to Tutbury for we have ſo determyned knowing what is metar for hir to doo than any other that ſhall perſwade hir to y^e^ contrary and if yow ſhall fynd any of hirs ſo avdacioofe to w^t^ſtand by there perſwaſions this o^r^ determination whan they ſhalbe th^r^of by yow advertiſed, yow ſhall remove them from hir, and cauſe them to be ſtayed ſavely in ſome other placees vntill o^r^ pleaſure be furder knowne, and nevertheleſs in the meane tyme forbeare not, to remove the Quene as we have ordred. And becauſe yow the Lord Scroope ar ther the owner of land and have therby and in other reſpects of your degre and place being on of o^r^ Counſell in thoſe North parties,

have more comodite to comannd and direct in that Countrye and in the placees mete for hir to passe by in this hir removing from your howse to Tutbury We requyre yow as hitherto yow have faythfully and chargeably, so to vse your creditt and power for vs to cause or subiects to be redy and obedient of what degree so ever the same shall be to ſſrue ether in person, or wt ther carriadgs horsees and other provisions necessary for the spedy removing of the sayd Quene, forseing that no other of or Subiects but yow twoo have any conferēce wt hir by the waye in any place, wherof as yow shall see occasion nedefull yow maye circumspectly admonish them and also directly chardg them./ And as soone as we shall here that she shall be at Tutburye, we will gyve yow knolledg of or plesure for your libertye to come from thence./ gyven

vnd^{r} o^{r} Signett the xviijth of Janvary the xjth yere of o^{r} reign.

19. *Queen Elizabeth to Lord Scrope & Sir Francis Knollys.*

Written by a clerk and directed "To o^{r} right truſty & welbeloued the lord Scrope l. warden of o^{r} weſt m̃ches againſt Scotland & our truſty & right welbeloued counſello^{r} ſir francis knollys knight o^{r} vicechamberlayñ. o either of them."

Endorſed by one of Sir Francis's clerks "26. of January 1568 The Q. ma^{ty} L̃re to me." The firſt lines of the letter are loſt, owing to the upper part of the ſheet having in the beginning of this century been torn off and given to the Ducheſs of Buckingham for the ſake of the Queen's autograph.

. . . . . that we . . . . . the houſe of yo^{u} the lord Scrope and to eaſe you bothe, of the long & painful ſervice you have ſuſteyned in attending to the cuſtody of hir wherin we finde cauſe to allowe & accept thankfully yo^{r} ſervice. So

we do p̄ntly ſende o^r right truſty & right welbeloued Coſin Therle of Shreweſbery to receive the ſaid Quene of you and to take the charge of the cuſtody of hir according as he is well informed by ourſelf. And therfore we pray you vpon the delivery of this your charge vnto him to informe him of all maner of things requiſite for him to know co̅cernyng the ſave cuſtody of the ſaid Quene and of the ma̅ers of your vſage of hir for that our meanyng is that ſhe ſhuld finde no channge to be better vſed having given vs no cauſe to give hir more co̅forte but rather leſſe as we doubte not but yourſelfs do well co̅ſider vpo̅ hir late writings of vntrouthes touching vs. And furder we will you our vicechamberlayn̄ to declare to our ſaid Coſin of Shreweſbery the ma̅er order & chargs of the diet of hir & hir co̅pany and cauſe the clerke of

the houſeholde whom you have vſed, to do the like ſervice as he hath doñ. and ſuche money as ſhall remayñ w^t you of ours w^ch was lately ſent vnto you to deliver over as ſhalbe thought mete vpoñ your cõference w^t our ſaid Coſin of Shreweſbery and to advertiſe vs w^t ſpede what furder ſom̃e ſhalbe requiſite to ſend thither. and furder to helpe to diſcharge ſuche ſupfluous ſcotts or frenchemen as do no other ſervice but practiſe vnmete things. And theſe things being doñ we give licence aſwell to you the lord Scrope as to you our vicechamberlain to com̃e from thence. and yet we woolde that our ſervn̄nt Henry Knollys might remayn̄ there vntill the repaire of you our vichamberlayñ to vs with whom we meane to cõferre therupoñ. and ſo we require you to declare our pleaſure vnto our ſaid ſſrv^annt. given vnder our ſignet at our houſ^e of

Hamptoncoʳt the xxvjth of January the xjth yere of our reign. 1568.

20. *Lord Scrope to Nicholas Lockwood.*

Written by a clerk, the ſignature "yo' louyng mr H Scrope" only being in Lord Scrope's own hand.

We here as the Quene of Scottes hath Dyſpatched certayne of her ſſv̄ants to paſſe in to Scottland. This ſhall be to will and com̄annde you that you ſuffer ſutche p̄ſons to paſſe into Scottlande as you ſhall reaceave there Names in a Sedull here in incloſed. Dated the ixth of ffebrvarie. Añ o Dm̄. 1568.

yo' louyng mr
H Scrope

To my Louinge ſſv̄ant
Nicolas Lockewood.

21. *Sir William Cecil to Mr. Henry Knollys.*[1]

In Cecil's own handwriting, but directed in a different hand: "To my very loving frend Mr Henry knolls esqr at Tutbury."

Sr. I dovt not but your good brothar Mr vichamblayn doth advertise yow by his lres of ye Q. Mats allowāce of your service, and of hir desyre to have yow contynew ther some cōvenient tyme, and yet nerthelesse that if your busynesse shall

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[1] Mr. Henry Knollys was Sir Francis's younger brother. Besides carrying out the several duties mentioned in these papers, and filling other offices which were entrusted to him by Elizabeth, he was in 1562 sent to Germany as the Queen's Ambassador to the Protestant Princes. Having sat in Parliament successively for Reading, Guildford, and Christ Church, he died in 1583, leaving as his executors his brother Sir Francis, and his nephew Sir William Knollys, afterwards Earl of Banbury.

ſo reqre that yow may come vpp at our lady daye, and than vnderſtand furder of hir Ma^{ts} pleſvre. In y^{e} meane tyme I wiſh yow good ſucceſs in y^{t} chardg, and y^{t} yow might doo ſome good by your lernīg to amēd them there y^{t} ar ſeduced by error. frō weſtm^{r} the 21. of februar. 1568

Your good aſſured frend
W. Cicille.

22. *Queen Elizabeth to Mr. Henry Knollys.*

Written by a clerk, with the Queen's Sign Manual. Directed "To our truſty and welbelouid ſſrūnt Henry knolles eſquier."

Elizabeth R. By the Queene.

Truſty and welbelouid we greete you^{u} well. Wheras vpon our late comitting of the Duke of Norffolke to our Towre of London, for the better aſſiſtance of our Lieu-

teñnt there we appointid ſſr Henry Nevell knight to take alſo the charge for the ſafe keeping of him there: Foraſmuch as we ar pleaſid to eaſe the ſaid ſſr Henry Nevell of that care and attendance for fifteene dayes, and haue in his place made choice of yo^{u} to take that charge vpon yow in the tyme of this his ſaid abſence: Our pleaſſr is that yow ſhall furthwith reſort to our ſaid Towre. and delyu^{r}ing vnto the Lieuteñnt there our lrẽs, by the which we do ſignify vnto him our pleaſſr herin: yow ſhall thervpon confere with him and with the ſaid ſſr Henry Nevell. and receaue of them directions by ſuch Inſtructions as we haue gyven to theim in this behalf for the ordring of your ſelf in this charge. and ſo we will yo^{u} to entre into the ſame. Wherin we doubt not but your doings will ſatisfye our good opinion conceyvid

of your fidelitie towards vs./ Gyven vnder our Signet at our Caſtell of Windeſore this xxjth of Novembre 1569. In the Twelveth yere of our Reign./

M^{r}. henry knolles.

23. *The Privy Council to Mr. Henry Knollys & others.*

The ſubſtance of the order written by a clerk. Directed "To o^{r} very louing freends Henry knolls Eſquier M^{r} Wilbrahm̃ Recorder of the Cite of London and M^{r} doctour Willſon M^{r} of St. katherins."

After o^{r} very Harty commendations We haue receyved yo^{r} lrēs of the xixth of this monneth together with the examinations of wood [1]

[1] According to the Calendar of State Papers, Domeſtic Series, November 28th, 1569, there is at the Rolls Houſe a report by Henry Knollys and others of the examination of Thomas Wood, the prieſt, in the Tower, being threatened with the rack, as to words uttered by him and one Wm. Fenner.

and others whome yo^{u} were lately by our ordre appointed to examine, for yo^{r} diligence vſed wherein we gyve yo^{u} our harty thanks. And bycauſe it appereth thereby vnto vs that nether the ſayd wood nor Standen haue franckly vttered theyr dealings and knowledge in thoſe matters whereof they haue byn examined, but doo rather obſtinately deny the principall points wherewth they ſtande charged : we have thought good to returne the ſayd examinations and the reſt of the whole matter vnto yo^{u} to thintent yo^{u} may eftſones call before yo^{u} the ſayd wood, and in caaſe yo^{u} ſhall fynde hym to p̄ſyſt ſtill in his willfullnes and obſtinacie, withowt vttering franckly his knowledge in the matters wherewth he ſtandeth charged, then wee think convenient yo^{u} firſt cauſe the p̄ties that doo teſtefy againſt hym, to be brought

face to face before hym to wytneſſe and prove as muche as they have allredy affirmed, and in caaſe he will not by this meanes yelde vnto the trouth and franckly diſcov^r the whole circumſtance of the matter, then wee think neceſſarie and ſo require yo^u that yo^u threaten hym with the torture of the rack, and bring hym (if neede bee) vnto the ſight and ſhewe thereof, with a countenance to put hym to the feeling the ſmart of the ſame. And nev^rtheleſſe if it cume to that point, and that yo^u ſhall ꝑceyve he cannot by that meanes be brought to vtter the very trouth of his talks and doings in theſe cauſes, we wolde yo^u ſhoolde forbeare to put hym to the torture in deede vntill yo^u ſhall receyve farther direction from hence. And of that yo^u ſhall have founde and doon herein wee require yo^u wee may be adv^rtiſed as commoditie

ſhall ſerve. And ſo fare yo^{u} well, ffrom wyndeſo^{r} the xxijth of Novemb^{r} 1569.

Yo^{r} louing frends,

N. Baco C. S. W. Northt.
F. Bedford. R. Leycester.
W. Howard. Wa. Mildmaye.
F. Knollys.

poſt ſcript. Bycauſe wee doo conſider that S^{r} Henry Nevill who was before ioyned in commiſſion wth yo^{u} m^{r} Recorder and m^{r} wyllſon for the examination of wood and the reſt is now abſent from thence, wee haue thought good in his ſteade to ioyne yo^{u} m^{r} knolls wth the reſt in his ſteade.

M^{r} Henry Knolles.
M^{r} Recorder
M^{r} wyllson.

24. *The Duke of Norfolk to Queen Elizabeth.*

Copy partly written by a clerk, partly in the hand of Mr. Henry Knollys.[1]

Moſt humbly I Thomas Duke of Norff, yo^r ma^ts moſte humble and obedient ſubiect and ſeruannt doe with all reverence and dutie ſubmitt my ſelff to yo^r exelent ma^tie, bye knowledginge my offence, and by my voluntarye offeringe to make amendes for the ſame, with a determinate mynde never to offende yo^r ma^tie, ether in the ſame, or in anye like. Beſechinge yo^r moſt gratious goodnes to accepte me into yo^r favor to ſerve yo^u in anye manner that it ſhall pleaſe yo^r highnes to directe and

[1] A damaged copy of the Duke of Norfolk's ſubmiſſion is at the Rolls Houſe. For Abſtract ſee Calendar of State Papers, Domeſtic Series, Addenda, 1566-1579, pag. 304.

commande me wherein I truſte to make it apparant to the worlde howe humble a Sʳuannt and loyall ſubiecte yoʳ maᵗⁱᵉ hath of me readie to make recompence for the former offence by yoʳ highnes conceaved of me./

And where I did vnhappely geaue eare to certeyne motions made to me in a cauſe of mariage to be proſequuted for me with the quene of Scottes I moſt humbly beſeche yoʳ maᵗⁱᵉ ꝑmitt me to declare ſuche parte of the truth that maketh in ſome parte mye excuſe, as I will alſo willinglye confeſſe the reſte where in I did erre./

Surely I never conſented to accorde thereto in any reſpect, but whatſoeuer reaſons weare propounded to me to enduce me thereto for yoʳ highnes benefitt and ſuertie, yeat (I humblye thanke almightie god) that I alwaies referred the allowannce and diſallowannce to yoʳ maᵗˢ owne iudgement, as

it might appeare to be agreable or diſagreable to yo^r^ highnes, I beſeach yo^r^ ma^tie^ in the weyenge of that which otherwiſe was faultie in me, to haue gratious regarde, And on the other parte I doo confeſſe that nowe ſithens I haue further conſidered thereof, not withſtandinge any appearañce of the reaſons made for yo^r^ highnes benefitte to followe vpon that mariage: I did erre verie muche in that I did not cauſe the ſame to be knowne to yo^r^ ma^tie^ vpon the firſt motion made to me./

And therefore I doe humblye, voluntarily, and with the lowlynes and fulnes of my harte acknowlidge, that there in I haue geuen yo^r^ highnes cauſe of offence and doo frome the bottome of my harte crave of yo^r^ ma^tie^ forgevenes for that which is paſt. And conſideringe, I haue playnely ꝑceaved that yo^r^ highnes dethe not lyke of ſuche mariag:

neyther doe accompt yt to be for your benyfyt. I doe by thys my wrytyng ſygned wythe myn owne hande & ſealed w^t my ſeale, frely voluntaryly & abſolutly gravnt promyſe & bynde myſelff by the bonde of myn allegeans to your Ma^te as my ſoverayne dread lady, never to offend your hyghnes yn the ſame. But do vtterly renownce & revoke all that whythe on my parte ony wyſe hathe paſſed: w^t a full Intention never to deale in that cauſe of mariag of the qwene of Scotts, nor yn ony other cauſe, belonging to her, but as yo^r ma^tie ſhall com̃annde me./

And thus hauinge vnder yo^r highnẽs fevo^r, declared my error and my repentance, with renũtiac̃on of all that I haue doñe therein, and aſſurance of my loyaltie to lyve free from any like offence I firmly hope that your Ma^te wyll extende your accuſtumed favor vpon me & draw me

owt of the dungeon of your diſpleaſure, & preſently gravnte me ſome releff for my helthe. And conſeqwently of your gratiouſe goodnes lett me appere to the worlde as one of your humble ſubgects not ony wyſe towchyd w^t^ ony ynfidelite But to be ymployd as yt ſhall pleaſe your hyghnes w^t^ my lyff landes & goodes by ſervyce to your Ma^te^ & my Countre for the full recovery of your pryncly favor. And ſo recoveryng agayne the ſame I ſhall to my lyves ende by worde thought & dede acknowleg my ſelff to have bene vnder a moſt gracious prynce & ſoverayne ladye. And ſo contynually pray for your Ma^tes^ long & moſt proſperous reigne. the .23. of June .1570.

25. *The Privy Council to Juſtices of the Peace, &c.*

The ſubſtance of the order written by a clerk.

Whereas one Geralde Eſpes a noble mañ of Spaine, who was ſente hether three yeres paſte to be Ambaſſador here for the kinge of Spaine, Is by the Quenes Matie vppon good cauſes appointed forthewth to depte the Realme, And for the more ſafe conduction of him to the Seacoaſte in ſuche honorable manr as appteineth, there is aſſigned for that purpoſe, our verie lovinge freinde, and her Mats truſtie ſſrvñnte Henry knolles Eſquier./ Theiſe be to requier yow, and ſtraitelie to chardge yow that when the ſaide Mr knolles for that cauſe ſhall coñe or remayne in any Towne or place where as yow haue any thinge to do, or ſhall ſende

any of his ſſrv^a^nts to the ſaide placs (ſpeciallie yo^w^ that be the Queñes Ma^ts^ cheife officers in the Citties and Townes betwixt this and Dover) that yo^w^ do aide & aſſiſte him and his ſſrvito^rs^ in the beſte man^r^ that yo^w^ can in all things, and vppon all occaſions that he ſhall requier yo^w^ in her Ma^ts^ name, and to furniſhe him w^th^ all ſuche neceſſaries, as he ſhall declare vnto yo^w^ to haue nede of for the accompliſhement of his ſaide ſervice, and alſo to be attendant vppon him yo^r^ſelfes in yo^r^ owne p̄ſones, and to bringe w^th^ yo^w^ ſuche others and ſo many as he ſhall thinke meete to requier of yo^w^ for the aſſiſtañce of him, or for any occaſion of the ſervice aforeſaide. And hereof we chardge yo^w^ not to faile, as yo^w^ tende the Queñes Ma^ts^ good contentac̄on, and will anſwer to the contrary at yo^r^ p̄ill.

To all Juſtices of the peace and

gentlemen, Maior^rs^, Bailifes, and other officers what ſoeu^r^ To whome it ſhall appteyne.

N. Baco. C. S.
T. Sussex. F. Bedford.
E. Clynton.
F. Knollys. Jamys Croft.
R. Leycester.
W. Burghley.
Wa. Mildmaye.

26. *The Privy Council to Mr. Henry Knollys.*

The ſubſtance of the order written by a clerk. Directed "To o^r^ lovinge friende Henrie Knolles Eſquier."

Aftre o^r^ hertie com̃endac̃ons/ Theiſe be to ſignifie vnto yo̅ that the Q^nes^ Ma^tie^ hath appointed John Hawkynes to paſſe over w^th^ the Spaniſh Amb^re^ to Calice, and that one of hir ma^ties^ own̄ ſhips is armed and ordered to come to Dover of

p^r^poſe, w^ch^ we thinke mete that yō ſhoulde imparte to the ſaid Amb^re^/ And alſo, vppon knowledg from the ſaied haukyns that he is in full reddines, that yō accordinglie prepare thambaſſado^r^ to come onward to Dover by the terme of his daies appointed him, w^th^ vigilant regard, as well on the waie, as when he ſhall come to dover, that nether by his walkes for the view of places, nor yet by cōference w^th^ any p̄ſones, w^th^out yo^r^ wiling he have comoditie given, to accompliſh ſuch annoyance towards this ſtate, as by his other practiſes it hath appered that his maliciouſe harte hath intended./ What ſo ever ſhalbe requiſite for his paſporte, for himſelf, his nombre of men, his horſes and what nombre of them, or any other thing, that he will ſende a particular note of, the ſame ſhalbe ſent vnto him as apperteyneth./ And finallie when he

ſhalbe in full reddines to imbarke, and ſhall take his leave of the land, and ſo in the chardge of Hawkynes, we ſhall verie well like that yō returne from him hither againe at yo^{r} will and pleaſure. And ſo we bidd yō hertily fare well. ffrom Weſtmr̄ the xxviijth of Decēb. 1571.

p^{t}ſcript we praye yō let the note be ſent for his paſſeporte that all things maie be reddie.

Yo^{r} loving ffriends

T. Sussex. F. Bedford.
E. Clynton.
F. Knollys. Jamys Croft.
R. Leycester.
W. Burghley.

He Knollys.

APPENDIX.

Summary of the Caſket Letters.

Copy, written by a clerk, but endorſed in Sir Francis Knollys's own hand: "*Tutbery* 1568. *& Towre* 1569."

The Summary here given differs in ſeveral details from thoſe printed by Goodall and others.

"The ſpecyall words of the Q. of Scotts lr̃es, written w^t her owne hande to Bothwell declaringe her hatred and deteſtacion of her huſband.

If I had not a proſe of his harte of waxe and that myne were of dyamonde—I coulde almoſt pitie him, he hath eu^r the teares in his eye to make me haue pytie on him./ I can not ceaſe to write to you though I be goinge to ſleepe, but curſed be that pockie man that cauſeth me to take ſo moche payne w^tout whome

I might haue more pleaſante matter to diſcourſe of./

His breath doth ſauo^{r} ſo ill that it hath almoſt ſlayne me, it is worſe then your Vnckles./

He was neu^{r} ſo gay, he putteth me in remembrañnce of all things w^{ch} might make me beleve that he lovith me, whereof I take ſo moche pleaſure that I neu^{r} enter where he is, but incontynent I haue the ſickenes of my ſore ſyde/ I am ſo faſched w^{t} him./

The ſpeciall woords of the ſayd Q. lr̃es to Bothwell declaringe thinordinat and fylthie love betwixt him & her./

Beinge depted from the place where I lefte my harte it is eaſie to iudge what is my counteñnce, beinge no more then abodie wthout a harte./

If I had not a profe of his harte of waxe, and that myne were of dyamonde, (where into no ſhotte can make breche, but that w^{ch} cometh

out of yo^{r} hande) I coulde almoſt haue pitie on him; but feare not the place ſhall holde vnto the deth, prainge you not to let yo^{r} harte be woonne from me by that falſe race that will travill no leſſe wth you for the ſame./

Excuſe my ill writtinge for I can not amende it becauſe I am not well at eaſe, and yet verie glad to write to you when others do ſlepe, ſyns I can not ſlepe as they do, and as I deſyere that is in yor armes my dere Love./

I referre myſelf holie to yo^{r} will, and will obey you in all things and ame hollie at yor com̃anndement./

I am the moſt faithfull lou^{r} that eu^{r} you had or eu^{r} ſhall haue, after the kiſſinge of yo^{r} hands I ende my l̃re, Remember yo^{r} Loue, write often, and love me as I ſhall love you, and remember the purpoſe of the Ladie Reres./

The ſpeciall words of the ſayd Q lr̃es to Bothwell declaringe the conſpiracie of her huſbands dethe.

This day his father did blede at the noſe and at the mowth, gheſſe you what preſage it is./

I am doinge of a wo^rke I hate greately, but you wolde laughe to ſee how I flatter and deſemble about it./

Adu^rtiſe me what you are deliberate to do in the matier to the ende we may well vnderſtande one a nother ſo as nothinge faile in defalte therof./

I am now goinge about my faſhious and lothſome purpoſe which I do abhorre, you make me do thoffice of a traitereſſe were it not to obey you I had leu^r be ded then do it, for my harte doth blede at it./

He will go w^t me where I woll haue him, alas I neu^r deceyued anybody but I referre me to yo^r will, and will obey you whatſoeu^r come thereof, adviſe w^t yo^rſelf if you can

fynde out any other ſecret invencion by medycyne for he is to take medecyne and the bath alſo at Cragmiller./

He is in greate ſuſpicion, and yet he doth credite my words, but I can not reioyſe to deceyue him that truſteth me, but you may comannde me in all things and haue no ill opinion of me for that cauſe, for you be the occaſion of it yorſelf, becauſe for myne owne ꝑticular revenge I wolde not do it./

Surely he ſuſpectith the matier you knowe of, and of his lif alſo, but as to the laſt aſſone as I ſpeke ij or iij good wordes to him he reioyſeth and is out of doubte./

Burne this lre for it is ourdangerous to vs and nothinge well ſayd in it for I thinke vpon nothinge but faſcherie, but ſyns to obey you my dereſt loue I ſpare nether honor, conſcience, hazarde nor gretnes what ſoeur, take it

in good ꝑte and geve no credite agenſt me, the moſt faithfull louer that eu^r you had or eu^r ſhall haue, and ſee not her whoſe fayned teares ſhoulde not be ſo moche eſtemed as the faythfull travailes which I ſuſtayne to merite her place, for the obteyninge whereof ayneſt my nature I betray him w^ch might impeche it, god for geve me, and geve you my only loue the hap and ꝑſperitie which I yo^r humble and faythfull loue wiſhe vnto you, hoping ſhortlie to be a nother vnto you for the reward of my hirkeſome travailes./

Accordinge to my commiſſion I bringe the man w^t me to Cragmiller, but worke wiſlie or ells the hole burden will lye on my ſhoulders, make good watche that the birde flye not out of the cage./"

UNPUBLISHED DIARY OF MADAME ROLAND.

Communicated by Henry A. Bright.

UNPUBLISHED DIARY OF MADAME ROLAND.

Communicated by HENRY A. BRIGHT.

THE following fragment from one of Madame Roland's diaries came into my poſſeſſion, in 1848, at the death of my relative, Mrs. Daniel Gaſkell of Lupſet Hall, near Wakefield.

Mrs. Gaſkell's huſband, who only died laſt year in extreme old age, was member of Parliament for Wakefield from 1833 to 1837, and Mrs. Gaſkell was herſelf for many years well known in literary and political circles. She is mentioned in

the life of George Grote, and in the memoirs of Henry Crabb Robinſon, and ſhe numbered among her friends moſt of the philoſophical Radicals of her day.

She was a lady of a reſtleſs intellectual activity, and was a collector of every deſcription of autograph and literary curioſity.

Among theſe is this autograph of Madame Roland. Upon the outſide cover Mrs. Gaſkell has written: "On Sunday, the 14th of February, 1830, received from Dr. Spurzheim at Paris, the autograph of Madame Roland;" and on the autograph itſelf, which is a quarto ſheet, cloſely written on all four ſides, Dr. Spurzheim ſays: "Handwriting of Madame Roland, when Miſs Phlipon at the age of twenty-two years, received from her daughter, Mad: Champagneux."

There is no doubt whatever that

this fragment is in Madame Roland's handwriting, but it only quite recently occurred to me that it was poſſibly unpubliſhed. With the help of Mr. Warner, of the Britiſh Muſeum, I have now aſcertained that it is not to be found in any edition of Madame Roland's works. It was, probably, a detached page of the "Penſées Diverſes," which purport to be "tirées des manuſcrits de la C^e^ Roland de l'année 1777," and which are contained in the "Œuvres" publiſhed in 1800. Theſe "Œuvres" were edited by M. Champagneux, whoſe ſon married Madame Roland's daughter; they are in three volumes, and are by no means a common book. Brunet, I find, does not mention it.

Dr. Spurzheim makes a ſlight miſtake in ſaying that this MS. was written when Marie Phlipon was twenty-two years of age, for ſhe was

born in 1754, and was thus a year older.

As regards the ſubjects on which ſhe writes, I do not know that there is much to add. Roland had been introduced to her in 1775, and her firſt impreſſions had been by no means very favourable. She writes: "De la maigreur, le teint accidentellement jaune, le front déjà peu garni de cheveux et très découvert, n'altéroient point des traits réguliers, mais les rendoient plus reſpectables que ſéduiſans."

Her opinion (as we ſee) gradually changed, and, in 1780, ſhe married him. Her peculiar view of marriage is well known: "le mariage eſt une aſſociation où la femme ſe charge du bonheur des deux individus."

In 1777, however, her affections were taken up with a ſentimental friendſhip for Sophie Cannet, who

is the "amie" of whom ſhe here ſpeaks, and whoſe heart is the "aſyle" ſhe finds ſo neceſſary to her happineſs. Her correſpondence with Sophie Cannet, to whom, by the by, ſhe owed her firſt acquaintance with Roland, forms an intereſting chapter in M. Dauban's very valuable "Étude ſur Madame Roland."

The flattering paſſage about England and her admiration for "la douceur des Lois penales," in 1777, is curious enough; but the following year ſhe is leſs complimentary to us, as ſhe writes :—"On dit les Anglais libres, et je crois qu'ils le ſont plus que leurs voiſins, plus que la plupart des peuples de l'Europe (excepté les Suiſſes) mais le commerce et l'amour de gain, les richeſſes et le luxe, en affoibliſſant leurs mœurs, ſappent inſenſiblement leur conſtitution, ou rendent inutile une partie de ſes effets."

The yet ſtronger admiration for Rouſſeau, which ſhe expreſſes here and elſewhere, had, we all know, the worſt effect, and half ſpoiled thoſe Memoirs, which are always intereſting and ſometimes of real beauty.

Madame Roland's handwriting is ſo crabbed, and her ſpelling ſo eccentric, that it was no eaſy taſk to decipher this MS. I received, however, ſuch kind and efficient aid, that I believe I have made out every word; but I have corrected nothing, and the fragment appears juſt as Marie Phlipon wrote it, within a year of a century ago.

HENRY A. BRIGHT.

Juin, 1777.

J'aime beaucoup La relation qu'a fait M. R. de ſon voyage à Londres; elle eſt écrite avec un Enthouſiaſme auquel on participe ſans ſ'en appercevoir et qui ajoute un nouveau

dégré de vivacité à l'interêt que les choſes inſpirent par elles mêmes. Cet homme a une âme noble et forte, un feu actif et pénétrant qui animent et vivifient ſes expreſſions et ſes écrits ; ſon œil Philoſophe, ſon goût ſimple et juſte, ſaiſiſent Le beau, Le vrai, et Le préſentent heureuſement. J'aime les détails des mœurs dans leſquels il eſt entré : Les peintures divers que ſon imagination lui fournit ; ſes idées rapides, jettées ſe ſemble au hazard, et qui ſont autant de traits des Lumières à la faveur deſquels on apperçoit ſon Elévation et ſon energie.

Quel ſpectacle intereſſant que celui d'une Ville qui eſt La Capitale et L'Abrégé d'un Etât dont L'etendue, les forces, les moyens, les reſſources, les lois, ſont employés au bien du plus grand nombre, au maintien d'une Liberté qui eſt également la Source, la Compagne et l'Appui de la Vertu et

du bonheur! où L'Accord des membres du Corps politique, l'Equité d'un code Criminel, La douceur des Lois penales, La vigilance du Magiſtrat, L'exactitude de la Police, La Liberté des réclamations, La généroſité du Caractère national, La ſimplicité des mœurs et des manières, La juſte application de l'eſtime publique, La Culture des ſciences utiles, Les monumens des Arts, Les Chef-d'œuvres du génie, préſentent de tout côté des ſujets d'Admiration et de plaiſir! Les Emotions, les tranſports, d'un homme ſenſible et réfléchi, frappé, remué par ces objets, fait un autre tableau non moins piquant et flatteur. J'aimerai à voyager avec les gens de cette trempe, ils fourniroient a mes obſervations autant que les choſes qui ſerviroient de matière aux leurs. C'eſt bien là Le cas d'appliquer votre mot de Plutarque: Les regardans ne ſont pas les pis.

Rien n'eſt ſi doux, ſelon moi, que de ſe trouver avoir quelqu' Analogie avec des Perſonnes Eſtimables ; en liſant Rouſſeau, ou Diderot, mais ſurtout le premier, j'ai ſouvent eprouvé des tranſports exceſſifs et delicieux ; il me ſembloit qu' ils m'euſſent volée des ſentiments qui m'animoient comme eux, et dont ils me faiſoient des peintures que je n'aurai pû faire ſans doute, mais qu'il m'appartient de juger parce que j'en avoie les principes. Née avec une ſenſibilité extrême, je jugeais autrefois les autres d'après moi ; des mécomptes Affligeans me forcèrent bientôt de rectifier ma méthode et mon opinion. Réſervée malgré moi, parceque La confiance eſt mon élement et ma vie, je devins obſervatrice (hélas que de triſtes découvertes !) je me réfugiai dans le ſein d'une amie pour y goûter tous les charmes auxquels il falloit renoncer dans les

liaiſons ordinaires; dans tous les cas cette Aſyle m'etait neceſſaire, et j'en ſentis le beſoin avant tout autre. Mais Le Bonheur d'avoir trouvé cet Aſyle, n'eſt pas excluſif pour mon cœur: je ſuis encore ſingulièrement touchée quand je rencontre des perſonnes qui me reſſemblent par quelque côté; il eſt tant de gens qui ſe diſent ſenſibles et il en eſt ſi peu qui le ſoyent! quel plaiſir quand on trouve ces derniers! tout ceci eſt une ſuite naturelle de l'impreſſion que m'a fait la Lecture du voyage de la Suiſſe; j'y ai trouvé cette touche de mélancolie, ce ton du cœur, cette expreſſion ſimple et vraie d'une âme honnête et brûlante, en idées, en gouts . . . enfin—quoi? mes ſentimens, ma manière d'être . . . j'ai pleuré, j'ai joui: il eſt encore des ſujets auxquels on peut appliquer ſon eſtime. Cette Penſée eſt pénétrante quand on mé-

priſe auſſi parfaitment que je le fais Le général des hommes,—J'entend par là les 99e Par centaine—d'individus que je peux connoitre ; car, pour l'eſpèce, elle m'eſt bien chère. Mais aux ſenſations touchantes que je viens d'éprouver ſe joignent des conſiderations pénibles ; les dangers d'un long voyage, une abſence de dix mois, point de nouvelles depuis près de quatre, la marche ordinaire des choſes ou le mal ſe trouve toujours a côté du bien, les circonſtances qui me ſont particulières . . . tout martriſe et fatigue mon imagination. Je ſuis dans ce cabinet chéri qu'il faudra quitter bientôt pour aller . . . hélas ! où ſerat-ce ? appuyée ſur cette table où j'écrivie ſolitairement une penſée et une affection ; mes yeux ſe portent de temps en temps ſur cette rivière, qui coule devant moi . . . elle m'entraine avec elle—mes regards ſe

fixent . . . la plume m'échappe—

J'ai rêvé ; j'ai repris le cahier qui m'intéreſſoit ; Le jour baiſſe et je m'arrête un inſtant pour remarquer qu'il n'eſt pas vrai que des Anecdotes particulières importantes par les ſentimens qu'elles excitent ou qui les firent naitre ne ſoyent bonnes que pour celui qui les écrit. Les 15 pages que l'on conſeille de franchir dans Le voyage de Suiſſe ſont préciſément celles qui me plaiſent le plus ; elles peignent L'homme ; et quand c'eſt une Belle Ame, quel ſpectacle !

P. S.—In looking over the hiſtories and memoirs of Madame Roland, I was ſurpriſed to find two diſtinct verſions of her famous dying ſpeech. In M. Dauban's " Etude," he gives " O Liberté, comme on t'a jouée," but in his edition of the " Memoirs " we have the more familiar

"O Liberté, que de crimes on commet en ton nom." Feeling intereſted in the ſubject, I have made ſome further reſearch, and with the following reſult. Riouffe, in his "Mémoire d'un détenu," ſays: "A la place du ſupplice, elle s'inclina devant la ſtatue de la liberté et prononca ces paroles mémorables: O Liberté, que de crimes on commet en ton nom."

In Barrière's "Mémoire de Madame Roland," there is a prefatory "Notice ſur Madame Roland," in which he quotes this paſſage from Riouffe, but adds in a foot-note: "Quant aux paroles adreſſées à la ſtatue qu'elle avait devant les yeux, ce furent celles-ci, ſi l'on doit en croire l'ouvrage auquel nous empruntons ces derniers details: Ah, Liberté, comme on t'a jouée," and he then gives a reference to "Letters containing a Sketch of the Politics of

France, from 31 May, 1793 to 28 July, 1794," by Helen Maria Williams, 1796.

In Helen Maria Williams's book we find:—

"When more than one perſon is led at the ſame time to execution, ſince they can ſuffer only in ſucceſſion, thoſe who are reſerved to the laſt are condemned to feel multiplied deaths at the ſound of the falling inſtrument, and the ſight of the bloody ſcaffold. To be the firſt victim was therefore conſidered as a privilege, and had been allowed to Madame Roland as a woman. But when ſhe obſerved the diſmay of her companion, ſhe ſaid to him: 'Allez le premier: que je vous épargne au moins la douleur de voir couler mon ſang.' She then turned to the executioner, and begged that this ſad indulgence might be granted to her fellow ſufferer. The executioner

told her that he had received orders that ſhe ſhould periſh firſt. 'But you cannot, I am ſure,' ſaid ſhe, with a ſmile, 'refuſe the laſt requeſt of a lady.' The executioner complied with her demand. When ſhe mounted the ſcaffold, and was tied to the fatal plank, ſhe lifted up her eyes to the ſtatue of Liberty, near which the guillotine was placed, and exclaimed: 'Ah, Liberté, comme on t'a jouée!' The next moment ſhe periſhed." Second edition, 1796, vol. i. p. 102.

Beyond theſe two authorities I am unable to trace either form of this laſt utterance, and the queſtion remains which is the more probable. For my own part I rather incline to the leaſt known verſion. It is the ſhorteſt and the moſt impaſſioned. It ſeems, too, to contain the thought, which, by repetition, might afterwards grow into the fuller expreſſion.

In other words, it would appear more likely that "O Liberté, comme on t'a jouée," would gradually expand into "O Liberté, que de crimes on commet en ton nom," than that the latter and more definite form ſhould ſhrink back into the former.

LETTERS OF JAMES THE SECOND TO THE ABBOT OF LA TRAPPE.

Edited by Lord Acton.

INTRODUCTION.

THE moſt prominent fact in the laſt years of James the Second is the friendſhip which he contracted with the Abbot of La Trappe. Of Rancé's ſhare in their correſpondence, conſiſting of twenty-two letters, little is known; but fragments of thoſe which the king wrote to him have been publiſhed in the Life of James, and they authenticate the following collection. A copy made by the Trappiſts, for Mary Beatrice, was long in the poſſeſſion of the Roman bookſeller Petrucci, at whoſe ſale, in 1864, it came into

my hands. I have thought the letters worth printing entire, as they contribute ſomething to the interpretation, if not to the narrative of the events which cauſed the rejection of religious liberty and the ruin of Ireland.

When James returned to France after his Iriſh campaign, his want of dignity in misfortune, his inſenſibility to the fate of his deſerted followers, his perpetual chattering and laughter, made him an object of general diſguſt. People could ſcarcely believe that he was the man whom Condé had pronounced inacceſſible to fear, of whom Turenne had propheſied that he would become illuſtrious in war, who had led the Engliſh fleet on the memorable day when De Ruyter fled before it, who had been willing to dare ſo much for power, and to ſacrifice ſo much for religion. Although the report of

Lauzun caſt no reproach on his conduct at the Boyne, and although the deſign which brought him back in ſuch unſeemly haſte was plauſible, for the Battle of Beachy Head had made the French, for the laſt time, maſters of the Channel, while the Engliſh forces were invading Munſter, yet James's credit had fallen too low to prevail againſt the ſcorn of Louvois. He had been tried by proſperity and by adverſity, and had proved unequal to both.

Eleven years later the ſame people who now deſpiſed him as a driveller came away in tears from his ſerene and ſolemn deathbed; ſtrangers who had never looked upon his face begged for his relics; biſhops believed that miracles were wrought by his interceſſion; and the Pope, while ordering maſſes for his ſoul, declared his belief that they were unneeded. The converſion of the

frivolous, licentious, hard-hearted ſexagenarian into an almoſt venerable Chriſtian, repentant, forgiving, and full of mild counſel, was principally the work of Rancé, and its progreſs is expoſed in the following correſpondence.

The Ciſtercian Abbey of La Trappe had for twenty years been celebrated as the moſt auſtere monaſtery in Chriſtendom, and its abbot was deemed the moſt profound director of conſciences ſince St. Bernard. The buſieſt and moſt diſtinguiſhed men in France, courtiers like St. Simon, and prelates like Boſſuet, came to him for advice in the trials and the labours of life; and men notorious for their vices, and even for their crimes, fled from the world to bury their laſt days in a houſe where neither meat nor fiſh was eaten, where the auſterities produced conſtant illneſs, where the

dying were required to die without ſeeing a phyſician, and every inmate longed for death.

Bellefonds, who brought James to La Trappe for the firſt time ſoon after his flight from Ireland, was highly eſteemed, as a man of ſtrict principles, and a ſpeaker of unwelcome truth. It was by his advice that Madame de la Vallière had ſought a refuge with the Carmelites; and he was the only officer ſince Turenne who had force of character to reſiſt the king, or who was permitted to addreſs Louvois in language ſuch as may be found in one of his letters:—"Je prétends vous "ſervir, et je ne ſerai point embar- "raſſé quand ce ne ſera pas à votre "mode." He had accepted diſgrace and exile for refuſing to execute a policy to which, he ſaid, was owing the ſpeed with which France loſt her conqueſts. Yet Lewis never ceaſed

to truſt him as a man fitted by nature for miſſions of unuſual delicacy. When an army was aſſembled at the foot of the Apennines, in order to coerce Alexander the Seventh, Bellefonds received the command; and in the Expedition of 1692 he was appointed to accompany James, with inſtructions to preſerve him from relapſe into the courſes by which he had loſt his throne. But when one half of the ſquadron that had eſcaped from La Hogue was deſtroyed on the beach of Cherbourg, the diſaſter was aſcribed to his vacillation. He enjoyed the intimate friendſhip and confidence of Rancé; and it was to him that the Abbot, in the moſt anxious moment of his career, addreſſed the vindication of his houſe.

James was attracted to the place by curioſity; but he returned to it almoſt every year until his death;

and he declared that he owed to Rancé the awakening of his conſcience, and the beſt part of his religious ſentiments. The letters which he wrote to him in theſe circumſtances, although very poor ſpecimens of compoſition, are valuable becauſe of their evident ſincerity. They ſhow that the progreſs of his mind, as he paſſed from manhood to old age, was real; that it was ſlow; and that it began at a low point in the intellectual and moral ſcale.

In his advice to his ſon James aſſured him that a Latitudinarian was generally an atheiſt and a knave. The ſame tone pervades great part of theſe letters. Few Proteſtants, James informs Rancé, led virtuous lives. There is no hope for the ſoul of his daughter Mary, more particularly on account of the ſin of the Revolution. He is convinced that

William the Third will perceive that it is his intereſt to perſecute Engliſh Catholics. He thinks the wicked inexcuſable now that the King of France rewards the virtuous.

The unſparing language of James towards his enemies may be attributed to a better cauſe than perſonal reſentment. For men who had elaborately circulated and traded upon the calumnies touching the Great Fire, the death of Eſſex, the birth of the Prince of Wales, who had ſuborned perjurers to ſwear away innocent lives, who had ſolicited penſions from France out of regard for their country, and had penſioned Oates out of regard for their religion, whoſe zeal for tolerance was a ſelfiſh pretence, whilſt their zeal againſt the prerogative ſlumbered under a Proteſtant king, his contempt was not only excuſable but juſt. He

had learned from Sheldon to believe that the moſt ſtrenuous writers of Anglican controverſy were inſincere. Compton had ſaid that the Proteſtant religion could not maintain itſelf if the favour of the Court was transferred to the Catholics; and Sunderland had profeſſed to think that all England would be Catholic in two years, if the Penal Laws were repealed.

The moſt important points touched on in theſe Letters are the Declaration of 1693 in favour of the Teſt, the Aſſaſſination Plot, and the ſcheme for making James King of Poland.

Rancé was one of the divines conſulted reſpecting the lawfulneſs of the Declaration, and it appears that he approved of it. Whilſt the judgment of the Sorbonne wavered, the Nonjurors condemned unequivocally the conceſſions which the king had been adviſed to offer, and held him ab-

ſolved from the obligation of abiding by them. His own language was ſenſible; and it is apparent that he was more ſincere than many of his Engliſh partiſans.

The moſt ſignificant of all his Letters is dated Calais, the 3rd of March, 1696. He confides to Rancé that the proſpects of the intended expedition are gloomy, unleſs Heaven ſhould interfere in a viſible manner; but that he himſelf feels bound to neglect no precaution that a good Chriſtian may adopt. The words are words of edification. The meaning of them is that he was watching for the ſignal-fire on Shakeſpeare's Cliff which was to proclaim that William had been ſhot, and that the time had come for the French to land. Schemes of this kind were not yet unuſual, and were not always deemed equivalent to murder. Louvois, in giving orders to ſeize

the celebrated Auſtrian diplomatiſt Liſola, had added, "Même il n'y "auroit pas grand inconvénient de "le tuer, pour peu que lui ou ceux "qui ſeroient avec lui ſe défendiſ-"ſent." And the idea of deſpatching William by a ſudden attack had been ſuggeſted by a profeſſor of Louvain before his landing in Torbay. When James the Second refuſed to have the Iriſh Proteſtants maſſacred, the author of the advice ſurmiſed that he expected the thing to be done without his orders. But there is no ſtronger indication of the perverſity which ruined his family and his cauſe than the unqualified ſympathy which he ſhows for aſſaſſins in writing to the moſt rigid of divines.

Shortly after the failure of this, his laſt enterpriſe, on the death of Sobieſki, James was ſpoken of as his ſucceſſor; and Pomponne was ſent to inform him of the report in terms

which made it clear that no more would be done for his reſtoration. He at once reſolved that it was impoſſible to become a candidate for the crown of Poland without renouncing his own. In truth, he had no more hope, and was prepared for the ſtipulations of Ryſwick. He would maintain inviolate the claims which his ſon was ſo ſoon to inherit; but, for himſelf, he had heartily reſigned not only the dream but the deſire of again occupying a throne. The ferocity which had mingled ſo ſtrangely with his devout ſpeech ſeems to have been quelled; and the death of the Duke of Glouceſter rouſed him to ſome manifeſtation of good feeling.

In juſtice to his memory, and to the ſoftened diſpoſition of his cloſing years, it ſhould be added that theſe Letters do not ſhow him at his beſt. Rancé was not among that ſmall

minority of French eccleſiaſtics who allowed themſelves freedom to judge the policy of their king; and he had applauded the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. James did not care to dwell on topics concerning which he had learned to differ from his correſpondent. We know from other ſources that, in this reſpect, the ſevere leſſon of his life had not been thrown away, and that he remained conſtant to the end, as the ſolitary advocate of toleration at the Court of France.

COPIE FIDELLE DES LETTRES QUE LE S^t. ROY D'ANGLETERRE A ECRITTES AU R^D. PERE DOM ARMAND JEAN

ANCIEN ABBÉ DE LA TRAPPE.

Depuis le 8^e decembre 1690; *Jusqu'au* 20^e *Septemb.* 1700.

Lettres du Roy D'Angleterre au R^d. Pere ancien Abbé de La Trappe.

Lettre premiere du 8^e. decembre. 90.

A St. Germains.

J'AY eſté tellement content de tout ceque j'ay veu a La Trappe, et ſi édifié de voir avec quelle devotion le bon Dieu y eſt ſervi, que Je ne puis pas m'empecher de vous le temoigner moy même, et de commencer un commerce de Lettres avec vous, que jeſpere me ſera utille pour le Salut de mon ame, a quoy Je ſçay que tout le monde eſt egalement obligé

de travailler dans l'etat ou Dieu les a mis. Vous ſçavez mieux que perſonne qu'eſt que c'eſt que le monde, vous l'avez quitté pour mieux faire vôtre ſalut, heureux ceux qui le peuvent quitter. Je ne porte envie qu'a ceux la, quoique je ne laiſſe pas de croire, que c'eſt dans le pouvoir de ceux qui ſont hors de Cloiſtres de le faire, s'ils veulent travailler a cette importante affaire comme il faut, car il ny a rien qui empeche un Roy, ou tout autre homme d'avoir de l'humilité, de la Charité Chrêtienne, et une entiere reſignation a la volonté de Dieu, ſans faire tort ou a leur caractere ou a leurs affaires, auſſi bien que les bons peres de La Trappe. La France, et l'Angletterre l'ont fait voir dans les Louis, et les Edouards, que lon peut eſtre Saint et grand Roy a la fois, mais pour la pluſpart nous nous laiſſons aller trop aux vanitéz et faux Plaiſirs de ce monde, et pour la pluſpart on ne ſe

donne pas le temps d'y ſonger murement, car ſi on le faiſoit, il n'y auroit pas tant de gens de perdu. J'eſpere que le bon Dieu me faira la grace d'y bien ſonger, et de profiter du voyage que J'ai fait chez vous, et de ne jamais oblier ceque j'y ay veu et entendu. Je ſuis faché de n'y avoir pas demeuré plus longtemps afin d'avoir plus profité, et de vous avoir parlé plus au fons que J'ai fait, comme auſſi d'avoir eû plus particulierement vôtre avis ſur une ſi importante affaire. Il n'y a Perſonne qui eſt plus propre à me les donner que vous, qui avez tant de Lumières et de piété, et qui connoit le monde et les difficultées qu'il y a de ſe bien conduire en veritable Chreſtien. C'eſt pourquoy J'eſpere que quand vous m'ecriréz que vous me direz quelque choſe ſur ce ſujet. Quoique Je ne laiſſe pas d'être ſenſible de la peſanteur de la main de Dieu ſur moy, et même en des choſes qui

me touchoient le plus, comme Je vous ai dit quand J'eſtois avec vous, Je ne laiſſe pas en même temps d'être bien touché des bontéz de Sa Divine Majeſté, de m'avoir rapellé encore une fois a la penitence. Dieu en ſoit loué, et de tout ce qu'il a fait a mon égard. La Reine ſe recommande a la continuation de vos bonnes prieres pour elle. Je fais la même choſe pour moy, et mon fils, en vous aſſurant de mon amitié.

JACQUES ROY.

Lettre 2^e^. du 17^e^. janvier. 91.

JE vous envoie ſelon la promeſſe que je vous ay faite, les Ecrits du feu Roy mon frere, et la déclaration de deffunte la Ducheſſe. Les deux premiers ne ſont pas ſi bien traduits que l'autre, et pour dire le vray, il falloit pluſtoſt une paraphraſe qu'une tra-

duction, a cauſe que ce qu'il écrit en peu de mots, a beaucoup de force, comme ceux de l'Egliſe Anglicane (comme ils ſ'appellent) ont trouvé, a qui Je les avois fait voir, et n'y ont jamais voulû répondre, quoique Je les avois fort preſſé de le faire. Le ſeul docteur Burnet, que Je ne compte pas de ce nombre, a entrepris de le faire, mais cela a été en veritable pedant, en tachant a faire voir quil n'obſervoit pas bien exactement les regles de la langue angloiſe, et ne repondant pas a ce qui eſtoit le plus eſſentiel. Je vous prie de m'envoyer la coppie de cet ecrit qui eſt en françois dans la chambre ou J'ai ſoupé. Il eſt bien plus neceſſaire d'être affiché dans les palais des Roys, que dans un lieu ou l'on voit tant de ſainteté. Je me recommande à la continuation de vos bonnes prieres; nous autres qui ſommes dans le monde, en ont bien beſoin, étant expoſéz comme nous

ſommes a tant de ſortes de dangers, tant ſpirituels que temporels, par l'embaras des affaires et mille autres accidents que l'on ne prévoit pas. Je tâcheray à m'engarantir le mieux que Je puis, en me reſouvenant de tout ce que J'ay veu a La Trappe, et en eſſayant den profiter. La Reine ſe recommande à vos bonnes prieres, et Je vous prie de ne pas oublier mon fils.

JACQUES ROY.

Lettre 3^e^. *du* 26^e^. *mars*. 91.

J'AY eſté bien faché d'aprendre que vous avéz eſté longtemps incommodé durant cet hyver, par une chutte que vous fiſtes, et ſuis bien aiſe de ſçavoir que vous eſtes tout à fait remis comme m'a dit, Milord Dumbarton. Je vous prie de croire que Je prend beaucoup de part à tout ce qui vous regarde.

Je crois que vous en faites de même à mon égard, et en cette confiance, moy qui n'aime gueres a me plaindre, Je ne peux pas m'empecher de vous faire part d'une tres grande mortification qui m'eſt arrivée, et qui me touche dans un point qui m'eſt fort ſenſible. C'eſt de n'avoir pas été du voyage de Mons avec le Roy, quand je m'attendois fort a y aller, croyant avoir raiſon de le ſouhaitter pour plus d'une raiſon. Mais enfin je nay pas pû gagner mon point, et trouve que ceque St. Francois de Sales dit dans ſon Chapitre de la Patience, ſe verifie en moy. Je tacheray à ſuivre ſes bons advis, et a imiter tant que l'on peut la reſignaõn que l'on voit chez vous. Je ſçay que lon ne devroit ſe chagriner de rien, que d'avoir offencé le bon Dieu; qu'il eſt difficile darriver a cette perfection dans le monde, Je ne le ſçay que trop. Je me recommande à la continuation de vos bonnes prieres,

pour moy, jeſpere que les bons peres de la Maiſon le fairont auſſy.

JACQUES ROY.

Lettre 4^e^. *du* 30^e^. *Aouſt.* 91.

QUE vous êtes heureux de cequil a plû au bon Dieu de ſe ſervir de vous pour rapeller a luy tant de gens égaréz et qui ſelon les apparences ſe ſeroient perdûs ſans la vie Chrêtienne et exemplaire que mennent vous et les bons religieux de votre Abbaye. La relation que J'ay veu depuis peu de jours du 21^e^ de juillet de La Trappe ſur le ſujet de ce gentilhomme Savoyard m'a fort touché le cœur, en me faiſant voir la miſericorde que Dieu a eûe pour luy. Le bon Dieu en ſoit loüé, comme auſſy la retraitte qu'un tres honneſte homme de la Robe a fait depuis peu, qu'il n'y a pas longtemps a été chez vous, a ce que l'on m'a dit.

Ce ſont des miracles de la bonté divine que l'on n'a point vûs en mon pays parmy les pretendus reforméz. Il eſt vray que j'en connois quelques uns qui vivent moralement bien, et qui ont commencé a le faire des leur jeuneſſe, mais pour ceux qui ont menné une vie fort debauchée et dereglée, je n'en ay connû pas un. Ce n'eſt que dans la Veritable Egliſe que l'on voit des miracles; et ces ſortes de converſions en ſont certainement de tres grands. Heureux ſont ceux qui ſont néz et élevéz dans la Vraie Religion; quel remercim^t^ ne doivent ils pas au bon Dieu pour cela, a plus forte raiſon ceux qui n'ont pas eü ce bonheur, et qui ont été appelléz des tenebres a la lumiere. Que ne doivent ils pas faire, que ne doivent ils pas eſtre preſts et contents a ſouffrir, pour une ſi grande bonté. Je ſçay bien qu'il n'y a rien plus aiſé à dire, mais difficille a faire, c'eſt pourquoy Je

me recommande a vous, et a tous ceux de vôtre maiſon de prier le bon Dieu pour moy, afin qu'il luy plaiſe de me donner une entiere reſignation et conformité a Son bon plaiſir en touttes choſes, étant tres ſenſible que ſans ces dons, on ne peut pas eſtre content en ce monde, ni heureux dans l'autre.

JACQUES ROY.

Lettre 5^e^. *du* 2^e^. *decembre.* 91.

JE vous ſuis bien obligé, et à tous les bons freres pour la lettre d'aſſociation que vous m'avez envoiée, puiſque par là je participeray de tous vos bons advis, eſperant par là, et par la continuation de vos bonnes prieres pour moy, de perſeverer a mêpriſer le monde au point que tout chretien le devroit faire. Il y a peu de perſonnes qui ont eû plus de raiſon de le con-

noiſtre que moy, ayant éprouvé a quel point le monde eſt trompeur, et que c'eſt la plus grande folie de ſ'y fier. Ceux qui ſe veulent donner tant ſoit peu de temps à y ſonger, ne peuvent pas ſ'empecher d'avoir les mêmes ſentimens, comme auſſi que pour être content en ce monde, il faut le mêpriſer, et avoir une conformité entiere a la volonté de Dieu. Je tâche a ſuivre les bons advis que vous m'avéz donnéz tant que ma foibleſſe me le permettra. J'ay commencé à communier plus ſouvent que je ne faiſois, me trouvant dans l'état apres m'eſtre bien examiné que vous m'avéz dit quil falloit eſtre pour cela, eſperant par ce moyen avoir ce fervent amour pour le bon Dieu que l'on devroit avoir, et quil ne refuſe pas à ceux qui le demandent avec ardeur, et qui travaillent tout de bon pour l'acquerir. Je loüe le ſeigneur de tout mon cœur de m'avoir donné la curi-

oſité de voir ſi ce que l'on m'avoit dit de La Trappe, étoit au point que l'on me l'avoit dépeint. Je lay trouvé auſſi, et encore plus que l'on ne me l'avoit dit, et la pieté que j'ay veu chez vous, m'edifia tant, et me toucha tellement le coeur, que des alors je ſongai plus ſerieuſement a mon ſalut et à travailler tout de bon à l'obtenir. La Reine demande la continuation de vos bonnes prieres, et celles de toutte la coñunauté ; dans l'etat ou elle eſt, Elle en a plus de beſoin, ſe croiant groſſe. Priéz a nôtre Seigneur que ce ſoit un fils, et n'oubliéz pas celuy qu'il nous a déjà donné.

JACQUES ROY.

Lettre 6^e^. *du* 9^e^. *Juillet*. 92.

J'AY eſté bien aiſe de me ſervir de cette occaſion de vous êcrire par ce porteur, le Sieur D'Eragny qui vâ a La Trappe à ce qu'il m'a dit, pour

voir la Profeſſion de Santena. Je ne me ſuis pas trop preſſé de le faire depuis mon retour de La Hougue, ſachant que le Marechal de Belfons vous a rendu compte de tout ce qui ſ'eſt paſſé en ces quartiers, ou la main de Dieu a paru fort viſiblement, car ſans cela le deſſein ne pouvoit manquer, le Roy ayant ſi bien conſerté le tout. Enfin Dieu ne l'a pas voulû, nous n'avons pas encore ſouffert aſſez pour nos pechés, je veüx dire moy, et mes ſujets, et il faut ſ'y ſoumettre avec la derniere reſignation ; et le loüer pour tout ce qu'il luy plaiſt de faire ; et eſperer qu'il retablira un jour nôtre S^te^. Religion dans tous mes royaumes. La priſe de Namur n'a pas ſeulement eſté fort glorieuſe et fort utille pour le Roy, mais aura des ſuittes heureuſes, et de tres bons effets à legard de mes affaires en Anglettere. Dieu en ſoit loüé, car cela relevera l'eſperance de mes amis en ce pays la, et faira perdre la reputation au

Prince d'Orange par tout. La Reine m'a chargé de vous dire qu'elle ne reçeüt vôtre derniere lettre que le jour devant ſon ãcouchemt. Elle ſe recommande bien fort a vos bonnes prieres, ayant eſté fort incommodée par la gravelle depuis ſes couches. Pour ma fille, elle ſe porte tres-bien, auſſi bien que mon fils; je vous les recommande auſſi; pour moy, je ſuis aſſeuré que vous ne m'oubliréz pas, et je tacheray le mieux que ie puis de ſuivre les bons advis que vous m'avéz donnéz.

JACQUES ROY.

Lettre 7e. du 30e. Juillet. 92.

J'AY receu il y a quelques jours la vôtre du 18 avec plaiſir, puis qu'on trouve dans touttes vos lettres des inſtructions tres utilles pour nôtre ſalut, ſi Dieu nous fait la grace d'en

profiter. Vous ſçavéz que j'en ai bien envie, et que je travaille tout de bon a devenir bon Chreſtien, et à me ſoumettre entierrement à la volonté de Dieu, ſans murmurer en aucunne maniere de tout ce qui m'eſt jamais ou peut arriver. Vous ſçavéz que trop bien que quoique la main de Dieu ſ'eſtoit appeſantie ſur moy, devant que davoir eſté chez vous, je n'avois pas ce meſpris et detachem^t^ du monde, dont je joüis preſentement. Je me ſers de cette phraſe de joüir, puiſque je n'ay jamais eſté veritablement heureux, juſqu'a ce que j'ay eü cette conformité a la volonté divine, et comme je ſçay que vous ſeréz fort aiſe de contribuer encore a mon avancement ſpirituel, Je vous prie de temps en temps de me faire avoir de vos nouvelles, et de me donner de vos inſtructions a legard des diſtractions qui ne m'arrivent que trop ſouvent quand j'aſſiſte a la Meſſe,

et que je dis mes prieres en particulier, et de me donner des remedes contre la trop bonne opinion de moymême; eſtant ſenſible que quand nôtre ennemy voit qu'il ne peut pas nous détourner de l'envie qu'on a de vivre plus regulierem^t^ que par le paſſé, il ſe ſert même des gens de bien pour nous faire tomber dans ſes pieges, par les loüanges quelque fois qu'ils donnent, croyant nous encourager par là de continuer dans les bonnes intentions que l'on a de perſeverer a bien faire. Vous voyéz que je connois quelques uns des dangers a quoy l'on eſt expoſé, et ſuis ſenſible que de nous mêmes, nous ne pouvons rien faire de bon; donnez moy de vos bons advis la deſſus. Je me recommande et tous les miens a la continuation de vos bonnes prieres, eſperant que le reſte de la communauté ne nous oubliront pas.

JACQUES ROY.

Lettre 8^e^. *du* 21. *Octobre.* 92.

Il faut tacher d'avancer dans le bon chemin, et faire ce que l'on peut pour ne pas reculer, c'eſt pourquoy je m'adreſſe a vous de temps en temps pour être bien inſtruit. Je fais ce que ma foibleſſe me permet pour ne pas manquer aux inſtructions que vous m'avéz desja données : preſentement je ſerois bien aiſe de ſcavoir de vous, comment je dois paſſer le temps lorſque je m'eveille la nuit, le faiſant pour la plus part environ les quatre heures du matin, ſans me rendormir de long temps apres, et quoiqu'il me paroiſt que dans l'état ou je me trouve, il ne ſeroit pas a propos de me lever pour prier et loüer le bon Dieu, faites moy ſçavoir je vous prie, ce que je dois faire pour paſſer plus chrêtiennement ce temps là. Jeſpere que vous comprenéz ce que je veux dire : au

reſte ſouvenéz vous de moy quand vous offriréz le ſaint ſacrifice à l'autel.

JACQUES ROY.

Lettre 9e. du 3e. Juillet. 93.

J'AY eſté bien fâché d'apprendre par le Marechal de Belfons qui me vint voir l'autre jour, que vous n'eſtes pas encore bien remis de l'incommodité que vous avez eüe il y a quelque temps. Je vous prie de me faire ſcavoir de vos nouvelles, m'intereſſant beaucoup en tout ce qui vous regarde. Si je puis, je fairay un tour chez vous avant la fin de l'été, et alors j'eſpere vous trouver tout a fait remis. Je continue à ſuivre les bons advis que vous m'avéz donnéz, autant que je puis. On n'a qu'a vivre pour connoître le monde, et pour le mêpriſer, et plaindre tous ceux qui ſ'y plaiſent, et qui ne ſongent

qu'a ſ'y établir. Je loüe le bon Dieu de ce qu'il a appeſanty ſa main ſur moy; car peut eſtre ſans cela, je n'aurois pas eſté ſi ſenſible de mon devoir comme je ſuis préſentement. Je me recommande à la continuation de vos bonnes prieres, et de ceux de vôtre communauté.

JACQUES ROY.

Lettre 10^e^. *du* 19^e^. *Septembre.* 93.

JE vous envoie la coppie des deux papiers dont je vous avois parlé, comme auſſi la déclaration qui a eſté publiée par mon ordre en Angletterre, afin que vous voiéz le tout. Je n'avois pas fait conſulter ces Meſſieurs de La Sorbonne ſur l'article du Teſt, ne croyant pas que ce pouvoit eſtre un cas de conſcience, puiſque cela ne fait autre tort aux Catholiques, que de les empecher d'avoir aucune charge, et

d'approcher de la perſonne du Roy ſans une permiſſion ſignée de ſix Seigneurs du Conſeil Privé. Ce que je dis ſur ce chapitre, ne m'empeche pas de faire tout ce que je puis par les formes, pour tacher à perſuader au Parlement de conſentir a l'abolir, ou pour le moins de l'adoucir, croiant fermement que ce que j'ay dit ſur le Teſt, eſt le meilleur moyen pour obtenir ce que je ſouhaitte la deſſus. Je ne m'êtendrai plus ſur cet article, vous ayant parlé fort au long ſur ce ſujet. Il y á d'autres clauſes à quoy l'on trouve à redire, comme celles ou je promets de paſſer tels actes que le Parlement me propoſera. Il eſt vray que la declaration auroit pû avoir eſté mieux dreſſée, et en des termes moins choquans, mais je fus tellement preſſé par ceux qui me l'envoierent d'Angleterre, et même par Meſſieurs les Miniſtres de France, qui l'avoient vüe et approuvée, de la mettre au

jour, croyant alors la conjoncture favorable, que je n'avois pas le temps de la corriger comme il falloit; outre qu'attendant beaucoup par ce moyen de ceux qui me l'avoient envoiée, il eſtoit à propos de tenir autant que l'on pouvoit, en conſcience, au pieds de la lettre. Enfin il n'eſt pas raiſonnable de croire que des gens qui demandent mon retour veuillent me propoſer ou inſiſter ſur aucune demande contraire à ma conſcience, quoiqu'ils peuvent exiger de moy des choſes a l'egard de l'autorité royalle qui ſeront aſſéz dures; et ce me ſemble que ce ſera un grand point gagné pour la Catholicité d'avoir un Roy Catholique en Angleterre. Je vous prie de m'écrire franchement vos ſentimens ſur cette affaire, car tout homme qui á envie d'eſtre bon chrêtien ne doit pas faire la moindre choſe qui peût hazarder ſon ſalut pour gagner tout le monde. Au reſte

je ſuis fort content du voyage que j'ai fait chez vous ; je tâcheray autant que je puis d'en profiter. Je me recommande a la continuation de vos bonnes prieres, et de tous ceux de vôtre maiſon.

JACQUES ROY.

Lettre 11^e^. *du* 19^e^. *Fevrier*. 94.

IL y a quelques jours que vôtre neveu me donna la vôtre du 4^e^. de ce mois, et je vous ſuis bien obligé pour la continuation de vos prieres et de vos ſouhaits. Je fais de mon mieux pour ſuivre les bonnes inſtructions que vous m'avéz données, et que vous continuéz de me donner, par vôtre derniere lettre. Jamais elle ne pouvoit arriver en un temps plus propre qu'a cette heure, puiſqu'il n'y a pas eû ſi peu d'apparence de mon rêtabliſſement qu'a cette heure, par

l'impuiſſance ou le Roy ſe trouve de me faire paſſer la mer, et cela dans un temps que mes amis en Angletterre le demandoient avec inſtance, et l'attendoient, et que mes ennemis le craignoient, et que le Roy le ſouhaittoit, et je puis dire avec verité autant que moy, j'en ſuis ſeur. Mais le bon Dieu ne le veut pas encore. Que Sa Sainte volonté ſoit toûjours faite, et il faut ſe ſoumettre ſans murmurer, et même avec joie à tout ce qu'il ordonne, en ſe ſouvenant que nous ſommes entre ſes mains, et que c'eſt là nôtre bonheur, étant aſſeuré que Luy qui nous a créé de rien pour nous rendre eternellement heureux, ſi nous vivons chrêtiennement, ne manquera jamais a ce qu'il nous a promis. Tout le monde connoiſt cette verité, ou peuvent la connoître ſ'ils veulent donner tant ſoit peu de temps a y ſonger. J'en ſuis de ce nombre, et tâche autant que ma foibléſſe me

permet de vivre ſelon ma croiance ; priéz le bon Dieu qu'il me faſſe cette grace, et qu'il me donne une entiere reſignation à Sa Sainte volonté, et de ne rien craindre que de l'offencer, car tant que nous ne manquons pas a nôtre devoir a ſon égard, nous ſerons contens, même je dis heureux en ce monde, et aurons quelque raiſon d'eſperer une heureuſe eternité. La Reine vous remercie de vos bonnes prieres et vous prie de les continuer.

JACQUES ROY.

Lettre 12^e^. *du* 26^e^. *Mars.* 95.

JE ſuis bien faché d'apprendre, par la lettre que vous m'avéz envoyée, que vous etiez tellement incommodé par une defluction a vôtre main droitte, que vous ne pouviéz pas vous en ſervir, dont j'en ſuis bien en peine, prenant autant de part que je fais en ce qui vous touche de ſi près. Vous

avez eû raiſon de dire, que la mort de la Princeſſe d'Orange me ſurprit beaucoup ; elle n'avoit que trente et trois ans, et en apparence une ſanté bien ſtable. J'en fus touché d'autant plus qu'elle a eü le malheur de mourir dans une religion ou on ne peut rien eſperer de bien pour ſon ame, et outre cela, à ce que l'on m'a aſſeuré de bonne part, elle a declaré en mourant qu'elle ne ſe ſentoit pas chargée d'aucun grand peché, ayant veſcû religieuſement ſelon ſa religion, et que ſi elle avoit fait quelque choſe a quoy le monde pouvoit trouver à redire, c'eſtoit apres avoir conſulté les plus ſcavans et les plus qualifiés de ſon egliſe, et que c'eſtoit à eux et non à elle d'en rêpondre ; faux raiſonnement, et malheur au trompeur, auſſi bien qua ceux ou celles qui ſe laiſſent tromper de la ſorte. Il eſt êtonnant de voir le peu de monde qui ſonge comme il le doit à l'avenir, et combien qui vivent comme ſ'il n'y avoit point

un Dieu, une eternité, un enfer ou ils ſeront precipitéz ſ'ils ne vivent pas en bons Chrêtiens, et que tant de gens qui paroiſſent avoir du bon ſens, ſe laiſſent aller aux fauſſes promeſſes du monde. On n'a qu'a vivre dans le monde pour connoître cette verité, ils ne peuvent pas le nier eux mêmes, et ſcavent qu'on n'eſt aſſeuré de rien en ce monde, ſi ce neſt qu'il faut mourir. Vous avéz été penetré de ces grandes verités de bonheure. Je me recommande a vos bonnes prieres afin que je continue a me ſervir des inſtructions ſalutaires que vous m'avéz données. Je prétens me donner la ſatisfaction de faire un tour chez vous cet été, et meme plûtoſt que l'année paſſée. La Reine vous fait ſes complimens eſperant que vous vous reſſouviendrez d'elle dans vos prieres. Je vous recommande la meſme choſe pour mes enfans.

JACQUES ROY.

Lettre 13^e^. *du* 12^e^. *Juin.* 95.

AYANT trouvé une voie auſſi ſeure que par ce porteur, je n'ay pas voulu manquer de m'en ſervir, pour vous dire que je ſuis fort aiſe que vous vous portez un peu mieux, car il m'a dit que vous n'aviéz plus la fievre. Je pretend ſ'il plaiſt au bon Dieu de me donner la ſatisfaction de vous aller voir, pour paſſer chez vous la feſte de la Viſitation, comme l'année paſſée, en partant d'jcy le dernier de ce mois. On m'apporta avant hier la relation imprimée de la vie et de la mort du frere Palemon. Je l'ay désja lüe avec beaucoup de plaiſir et de ſatisfaction, voyant les merveilles et les bontés de Dieu a l'egard des plus grands pécheurs. Cela nous doit encourager, Je dis nous autres qui ſommes dans le monde, d'eſperer que la même providence qui a tellement favoriſé

Sentena, et les autres freres Palemons, touchera nos cœurs a fin de vivre chrêtiennement le reſte de nos jours. C'eſt dans cette vüe que je vous fais viſite toutes les années, et en attendant, je me recommande a la continuation de vos bonnes prieres, et de ceux de vôtre communauté, afin que je puiſſe profiter de la maniere édifiante dont vous vivéz.

JACQUES ROY.

Lettre 14^e^. *du* 29^e^. *Juillet*. 95.

CETTE lettre vous doit être rendüe par un tres honneſte homme, c'eſt l'envoie du grand Duc, que ſon maiſtre a ordonné de vous aller voir avant que de ſ'en retourner aupres de luy. J'ay eſté bien aiſe de me ſervir de cette occaſion pour vous êcrire, et pour ſçavoir de vos nouvelles. La Reine vous doit mander elle même

les raiſons qui l'empecheront de faire le voyage de La Trappe cet été, pour moy touttes les fois que j'y vâs, j'en reviens plus edifié que jamais, et trouve que ce voyage n'eſt tres neceſſaire de temps en temps, pour ne me relacher, à quoy tous ceux qui ſont obligéz de vivre dans le grand monde ſont bien ſujets, et moy plus que les autres, quoique je fais autant que je puis, pour me ſouvenir des bons advis que vous m'avéz donnéz, et que je vois plus clairement que jamais, qu'on ne peut être content en ce monde qu'en le mepriſant. Je me recommande a vos bonnes prieres afin que je puiſſe perſeverer a ſervir le bon Dieu juſqu'a la fin, ſelon l'obligation d'un bon chrétien.

JACQUES ROY.

Lettre 15^e^. *du* 7^e^. *Aouſt*. 95.

La lettre que vous m'envoiaſtes par Monſ. de Maux me fut rendüe le jour apres que je vous avois écrit, par l'envoié du grand Duc. Je vous remercie pour les deux papiers que vous m'avéz envoyez, que je vous avois fait demander devant que de partir de chez vous. Vous avéz grande raiſon de dire que lon ne ſcauroit trop ſouvent entendre parler des grandes veritéz de nôtre Religion afin de ne pas ſe relâcher; les gens du monde ayant bien beſoin qu'on leur en rafraichiſſe la mémoire, et moy plus que les autres, ayant commencé ſi tard a m'appliquer tout de bon a faire mon ſalut. Je ſuis tres ſenſible que cette même raiſon me doit rendre plus ſoigneux et plus aſſidu a le faire, et y travailler ſans relâche, c'eſt le ſeul neceſſaire; et n'empeche pas qu'on

ne faſſe les affaires d'obligation de ce monde, ayant trouvé par experience que l'un n'empeche pas l'autre, au contraire ceux qui vivent chrêtiennement ont plus de temps a eux. La mort ſubitte de Monſ. l'Archevêque de Paris doit faire ſonger tout le monde a ſoy et a être toûjours preparé, et pour cette fin, je me recommande a la continuation de vos bonnes prieres.

JACQUES ROY.

Lettre 16^e^. *du* 9^e^. *Octobre.* 95.

De Fontainebleau.

VOUS voyéz que les divertiſſemens de ce lieu ne m'empéchent pas d'avoir envie de ſcavoir de vos nouvelles afin d'etre informé de létat de vôtre ſancté, et pour vous dire en même temps que je trouve qu'il eſt tres neceſſaire de ſe ſouvenir de La Trappe, et de tout ce qu'on y a vû et ouy, pour ne ſe

pas laiſſer entraîner par le mauvais exemple de beaucoup de courtiſans. Il ne laiſſe pas d'y en avoir qui vivent fort chrêtiennemt, et même de ceux qui occupent des poſtes tres conſiderables, et qui ne ſ'effrayent n'y ne ſe découragent pas nonobſtant le déchainement qu'il y a dans le monde contre ceux qui mennent une vie reglée. Il eſt vray que le Roy ſe declare pour les gens de bien ; comme il le fait voir par les promotions qu'il vient de faire de touttes ſortes, et auſſy par ſa maniere de vivre, ce qui rend les autres bien inexcuſables. En verité ils ſont bien à plaindre, et je ne peux pas m'empecher de m'êtonner de ce que tant de perſonnes, et de l'un et de l'autre ſexe qui paroiſſent en touttes autres choſes avoir de tres bon ſens, ſe laiſſent entraîner par le mauvais exemple, et ſ'accoutument à ſonger ſy peu à l'eternité, au même temps qu'ils ſe donnent tant de peine pour

ſ'établir ; quand ils ne peuvent pas ignorer, qu'ils ne ſont pas aſſeuréz de vivre un ſeul mom^t^, ayant tous les jours devant leurs yeux des exemples ſi frequens et ſi terribles, du peu de fond qu'on peut faire des plus grands etabliſſemens qu'on a dans le monde. Il ne faudroit pas tant de peine pour être des grands ſaints. Je vis lautre jour aux Camaldules Ducharmel; quil eſt heureux de ſ'être retiré du monde, on n'a qu'a le voir, et qu'a luy parler pour en eſtre bien perſuadé. Il a un viſage de ſancté, l'air qui eſt content, ce que les mondains n'ont jamais veritablement, quelque ſoin qu'ils prennent pour faire croire le contraire. Quelle difference entre ſes anciens camarades du jeu, qu'ils ſont a plaindre, qu'ils ſont miſerables. Je ne puis parler d'eux autrem^t^; aſſeurement ceux qui ſont néz de la lie du peuple, et que l'indigence oblige de ſe donner aux metiers les plus bas et

les plus penibles pour gagner leur vie, ne ſouffrent pas tant qu'eux, ceux la dorment mieux, mangent leur petite pitance avec un meilleur âpetit et plus regulierrem^t., et ne ſe chagrinent pas tant qu'eux, enfin a tout prendre ſont plus heureux, ou pour le moins, moins miſerables, et peuvent faire leurs ſalut dans l'etat ou ils ſont, ce qui eſt impoſſible aux autres, a moins quils ne ſuivent les exemples des Sentenas et de Ducharmel. C'eſt de même de ceux qui aiment les creatures plus que le Createur. Quand j'ay commencé cette lettre, je n'avois pas le deſſein d'en tant dire ſur ce ſujet, mais voyant l'acharnement que trop de gens ont au jeu, je ne pouvois pas m'en empecher, mais auſſi de faire encore cette reflection que les Juifs quoique regardéz en tout temps comme des gens fort opigniatres, auront moins a rêpondre au dernier jour q'un tres grand nombre de chrêtiens: car ceux la

bien ſouvent quand Dieu par ſa miſericorde les chatioit, ils retournoient a Dieu, et ſe repentoient de leurs pechéz, ce que bien peu de chrêtiens font de nos jours, quoyque preſque toutte l'Europe ſouffre encore, ou ont ſouffert par la guerre, des maladies qui emportoient autant de gens que la peſte, et la famine; il faut finir, ce que je fais en me recommandant à la continuation de vos bonnes prieres.

JACQUES ROY.

Lettre 17^e^. *du* 12^e^. *Decembre.* 95.

JE vois par la vôtre du 27^e^. du mois paſſé qu'une lettre que je vous avois êcrite de fontainebleau a eſté perdüe en chemin, puiſque vous ne me mandez pas de l'avoir receüe. J'eſpere qu'a l'avenir cela n'arrivera plus. Cêtoit pour ſçavoir l'êtat de vôtre

ſanɛté, et pour vous faire voir que les divertiſſemens de ce lieu là ne m'empechoient pas de me ſouvenir de vous, et du profit que j'ay fait par les voyages que j'ay fait chez vous. Je ne puis jamais aſſéz loüer le bon Dieu de m'avoir inſpiré de voir La Trappe, et tant que je ſeray a portée de vous, je pretend me donner la ſatisfaction de vous voir tous les ans, pour renouveller mes bonnes intentions, et pour me fortifier dans les reſolutions que j'ay priſes. En attendant, je vous prie de me faire ſçavoir de temps en temps de vos nouvelles, car quoyqu'en touttes choſes, on doive avoir une ſoûmiſſion et une reſignation entiere à la volonté de Dieu, il eſt permis d'avoir de l'eſtime, et une amitié particuliere pour les gens de bien, et pour ceux qui nous aident à avoir cette paix, que le monde ne peut n'y donner ny oſter, n'y même comprendre; tant ils ſont aveugléz

ne ſe donnant pas le temps de ſonger à l'avenir, n'ayant que le nom de Chrêtien. Ce que vous dites a l'egard de la Reine eſt une grande verité. Le bon Dieu ne manque pas de nous donner de la force de porter nos croix, en nous inſpirant les mêmes ſentimens, par les moyens des quels nous nous entreaidons a les porter plus tranquillement. Je crois que vous ne ſérez pas faché d'apprendre qu'un ſeigneur Anglois nouveau converti, et qui avoit des grands biens en Angleterre, et qui eſt mort depuis peu a Paris, eſt aſſeurement mort de la mort des juſtes ; il y a environ dix a onze ans qu'il ſe fit catholique, et pour cette raiſon, quand la revolution arriva en Angleterre, il eût une tres belle maiſon au pays de Kent pillée et razée par la populace, et luy même fait priſonnier avec moy à Feverſham, m'etant ſervi de luy pour m'aider a me ſauver, et envoyé auſſitôt a la tour

de Londres, ou il fut gardé deux ans, et ce me ſemble davantage. Auſſitôt qu'il en ſortit, il me vint trouver icy, et menna une vie fort reglée, et on vit á veüe d'œil quil ſe corrigeoit, que de hautin et de glorieux qu'il eſtoit, il prit tout a fait le contraire de ce vice qui eſtoit ſa paſſion predominante. Apres ſa mort, on a ſçeu qu'il avoit fait il y a trois ans un voeu entre les mains de ſon confeſſeur, un pere Jeſuiſte anglois, de faire tout ce qu'il croyoit pour la plus grande gloire de Dieu, et quelque temps apres, ſa femme venant a mourir, il fit encore celuy de la chaſtetê, fit beaucoup d'aumoſnes, ſe mortifia beaucoup de toutte maniere, enfin menna une vie fort chrêtienne dans le monde, et mourut de même fort doucement ſans aucune convulſion parlant juſqu'au dernier ſoupir. Je feray par quelq'un une relation de ſa mort plus au long, et vous l'envoiray auſitôt qu'elle ſera

achevée. Je ne puis m'empecher de faire une remarque ſur ce ſujet, c'eſt que tous ceux qui de proteſtans deviennent catholiques, changent de vie et de mœurs auſſi bien que de religion, mais que ceux des nôtres qui ſont pervertis, et devienn^t proteſtans, mennent une vie plus déreglée qu'auparavant, et a la fin deviennent athées; et je n'ay jamais connu ou oui parler d'aucun de nos preſtres ou moines qui ſoient venus en Angletterre ou y ont changé de religion, qui ne ſe ſoient tous debordéz, ou ont menné une vie toutte a fait ſcandaleuſe et dereglée. Je ne dis pas cecy ſeulement par ouy dire, mais encore de ma propre connoiſſance et de l'aveu même des proteſtans, car un de leurs miniſtres de l'Egliſe françois, de la Savoye a Londres contre qui le faux Luſancier avoit fait des plaintes a l'Evêque de Londres de ce quil avoit fait difficulté de l'aſſiſter de quelque

argent qu'il demandoit, me donna une liſte de trente de ces Meſſrs. tous françois avec leurs comportemts ſcandaleux, apres qu'ils avoient abjuré leur religion, et avoient receü des aumoſnes ; pour ſe juſtifier de la difficulté qu'il fit de ne pas gratifier le faux Luſancier, pour ne pas donner leurs aumoſnes qui eſtoient deſtinées pour le ſoulagemt des pauvres. Le miniſtre ſ'appelloit Des marais, il eſtoit natif de liſle de Guernecy. Il ne faut pas ſ'etonner ſi ces pauvres miſerables apres ſ'être une fois egaréz ſe laiſſent entraîner dans des precipices ou ils ſe perdent eternellement ; mais on doit ſ'êtonner de ce que ceux qui ſont encore ſi heureux de continuer à être catholiques vivent ſi peu conformement aux maximes de l'Evangile, ſe laiſſent éblouir et tromper par les fauſſes promeſſes du monde, de vivre heureux et contens, quand ils ne peuvent pas ſ'empecher de voir que

jamais homme n'a eſté content et ſans chagrin (quelque grand quil puiſſe être) que ceux qui mépriſent le monde, et aiment le bon Dieu, et par conſequent ont une reſignation entiere a ſa divine volonté. Je me recommande a la continuation de vos bonnes prieres.

JACQUES ROY.

Lettre 18^e^. *du* 21^e^. *janvier*. 96.

C'ESTOIT avec beaucoup de ſatiſfaction que je recüs la vôtre du 21^e^. du mois paſſé. Je fais tout ce que je puis pour perſeverer dans les bons propos que le bon Dieu m'a donnés de menner une vie plus ſelon l'Evangile que je n'ay fait par le paſſé. Je vous envoie la relation que j'ay fait faire de la mort du Chevalier Hales, que je vous avois promis, comme auſſi la coppie d'une lettre du R. P. Recteur

des Jeſuiſtes anglois a Liege, d'un cas tres extraordinaire qui arriva dans cette ville. Ce que vous me mandéz de la mort du frere Zénon eſt fort edifiant et fort extraordinaire, peu de gens arrivent a ce haut point de perfection ; et dans le monde il eſt tres difficille d'y arriver parmy lembarras des affaires et les devoirs de ſon état, principalement pour les grands, et ceux qui n'ont pas commencé a vivre de bonne heure regulierement, et en bon chrêtien. Il faut toujours tacher a faire de ſon mieux, et outre les croix que le bon Dieu nous envoie ſe mortifier ſoy même, c'eſt ce que j'apprehende que je ne fais pas aſſéz, et ne ſuis pas content de moy même a cet égard, et il me ſemble que j'y ſuis plus obligé qu'un autre, ayant menné une vie peu conforme aux devoirs d'un bon chrêtien pour bien des années ; vous vous ſouvenéz que la derniere fois que j'eüs la ſatisfaction

de vous voir, je vous parlay ſur ce méme ſujet. Je le repete encore et vous prie de me donner vos ſentimens la deſſus; j'ay bien envie de faire mon devoir, et d'avancer toujours ſelon lobligation d'un veritable chrêtien, êtant plus convaincu que jamais, qu'il n'y a que l'amour de Dieu qui peut rendre les gens heureux et contens en ce monde icy auſſi bien qu'en l'autre. Je me recommande a la continuation de vos bonnes prieres, et noubliez pas la Reine et mes enfans.

JACQUES ROY.

Lettre 19^e^. *du* 3^e^. *mars.* 96.

De Calais.

JE partis ſi a la haſte de St. Germain que je n'avois pas le temps de vous écrire alors pour me recommander a vos bonnesprieres. Je le fais preſente-

ment, et quoyque je ſois arrivé icy, je ne ſçay pas encore ſi je paſſeray ou non, nonobſtant que tout eſt preſt pour l'embarquement, et a vous dire la verité, ſans quil plaiſe au bon Dieu de ſ'y meſler viſiblement pour ſa plus grande gloire, l'affaire ne reüſſira pas dans l'aſſiette ou tout eſt preſentement. Dieu eſt un Dieu jaloux, et veut nous tenir dans l'attente et l'incertitude, afin de faire paroître a tout le monde qu'il eſt le Dieu des armées, et que l'homme ne doit pas ſ'appüyer ſur ſa force ou ſur ſoy même, mais uniquement ſur ſa ſainte volonté, mais je ſçay que cela n'empeche pas qu'on ne faſſe ce que l'on peut en bon chrêtien pour r'avoir ſon bien, même je croy qu'on y eſt obligé, quand ont croit que lon a en vüe le bien de nôtre religion. Que nous ſerons heureux ſi nous pouvons hazarder nos vies pour une ſi bonne cauſe, pour un Dieu qui a tant ſouffert, et a la fin a

ſouffert ſur la Croix pour nous ſauver. Ces penſées nous doivent ſoutenir dans touttes nos ſouffrances, et nous faire porter nos plus grandes croix avec patience, et baiſer la main qui nous frappe, et de nous ſoumettre avec une reſignation entiere, meſlée de joie, à ſa ſainte volonté. Je tacheray autant que ma foibleſſe me permettra a prattiquer ce que je viens d'ecrire, pour cet effet je me recommande a vos bonnes prieres, afin quil plaiſe au bon Dieu de me donner la grace de le faire.

JACQUES ROY.

Lettre 20^e^. *du* 12^e^. *may.* 96.

ME voicy de retour de Boulogne de puis quelques jours. Le bon Dieu n'a pas voulu me rêtablir encore. Que ſa ſ^te^ volonté ſoit toujours faitte. C'eſt a nous à nous y ſoumettre ſans mur-

mure ny chagrin. Le projet étoit tres bien concerté, et jay eu les mêmes obligations au Roy mon frere comme ſi il avoit reüſſy, ayant fait de ſon coſté tout ce qui dependoit de luy, mais Dieu qui eſt le maiſtre des vents auſſi bien que de tout le reſte, n'a pas voulu qu'il nous ait été favorable, n'y dans la Manche ny dans la Méditerannée, ſon nom en ſoit loüé. Mais ce qui me touche ſenſiblement, eſt ce que ſouffrent preſentement mes amis dans les trois royaumes, quelque-uns ayant desja été pendus, on fait le procès encore a d'autres, et ils tiennent encore en priſon un tres grand nombre d'autres de touttes ſortes, c'eſt a dire de ceux qu'ils croient être dans mes intereſts. Les priſons ordinaires n'eſtant pas aſſé grandes ny dans la ville de Londres ny dans les provinces pour les contenir, ils ont eſté obligés d'en faire faire d'autres quils ont remplies, et quoyqu'on doive tout ſouffrir

avec patience et reſignation, on ne peut pas ſ'empecher d'eſtre fort touché des ſouffrances de ces Meſſrs. là qui ſouffrent pour leur fidelité envers moy. Il y en a desja cinq de mis a mort tant proteſtans que catholiques qui ſont tous morts avec beaucoup de fermeté et de courage, comme on a vû par des écrits quils ont laiſſéz, ſignéz de leurs mains propres, et impriméz même par la permiſſion du gouvernement. Dieu a fait la grace a un de ceux la de ſe faire catholique en priſon, et il eut le bonheur dêtre reconcilié devant ſa mort. Que la miſericorde de Dieu eſt grande envers ceux qui le cherchent de bon cœur, et je veux eſperer nonobſtant tout ce qui vient d'arriver qu'il rêtablira un jour nôtre ſte. Religion dans mes trois royaumes, pour le moins du temps de mon fils, ſil ne veut pas ſe ſervir de moy pour cette fin; enfin je me remets entierremt entre ſes mains,

ſouhaittant que tout ce qu'il luy plaiſe d'ordonner à mon egard ſoit pour le preſent, ſoit pour l'avenir, ſaccompliſſe, car on ne peut pas manquer d'avoir une eternité heureuſe ſi on ſert fidelement un ſi bon maître, ce que je tacheray de faire autant que ma foibleſſe me le permettra. Je me recommande a la continuation de vos bonnes prieres, afin que je puiſſe ſervir le bon Dieu avec la ferveur d'un veritable Chrêtien. J'ay appris durant mon voyage que le nouveau Abbé êtoit mort, et que le Roy a eû la bonté de permettre a vous autres a en nommer un autre, et que vous avéz choiſy Dom Armand qui avoit eſté carme avant que d'aller chez vous. Je vous prie de me faire ſcavoir ce qui en eſt, et me mandez auſſi l'êtat de vôtre ſancté. Je pretend de vous aller voir dans quelque temps d'icy, et de tacher a me fortifier dans les bons ſentimens

que le bon Dieu m'a inſpiréz chez vous. Je ne puis pas vous dire encore poſitivement le temps, mais je vous en avertiray quelques jours avant.

JACQUES ROY.

Lettre 21^e^. *du* 18^e^. *juin.* 96.

JE vous envoie par ce porteur l'Abbé d'Avia les coppies des papiers que je vous avois promis, par leſquelles vous voirez la fermeté et la fidelité de quelques uns de ces meſſieurs qui ont êté mis a mort a Londres. Je me ſerts de cette occaſion auſſi pour vous dire qu'on eſt toujours edifié de plus en plus de tout ce que l'on voit chez vous, et qu'il m'eſt fort neceſſaire d'y aller pour me fortifier de temps en temps, car vivant dans le grand monde comme je ſuis obligé de faire, on a beſoin

de tels exemples de pieté et de mortification que l'on voit a La Trappe pour ſ'affermir dans les bonnes reſolutions qu'on a priſes de menner une vie plus chrêtienne que par le paſſé, ce que par la grace du bon Dieu je tacheray de faire autant que ma foibleſſe me le permettra. La Reine vous êcrit elle-même, vous voyez comme elle eſt contente du voyage qu'elle a fait, j'eſpere qu'elle en profitera et ſuivra les bons advis que vous luy avéz donnéz. Enfin elle eſt penetrée de tout ce qu'elle a vû et ouy chez vous, et fort contente de vous, du nouveau Abbé, et de toutte la communauté, comme le ſeront tous ceux qui vous connôitront. A mon retour icy j'ay trouvé mon fils tout a fait gueri de l'ebullition du ſang et de la fievre; depuis trois jours ma fille a eü le même mal, mais Dieu mercy cela eſt preſque paſſé, et nous voila hors d'inquietude

ſur ce ſujet. Je me recommande moy et ma famille a la continuation de vos bonnes prieres.

JACQUES ROY.

Lettre 22^e^. *du* 20^e^. *juillet.* 96.

L'ABBÉ D'AVIA me rendit la vôtre du 21^e^. juin, des qu'il fut de retour de La Trappe, tres content de ſon voiage, comme ſont tous ceux qui le font. Je ne ſçaurois aſſéz benir le bon Dieu de m'avoir inſpiré d'y avoir eſté touttes les années depuis mon retour d'Irland, afin de me fortifier de plus en plus dans les voies de ſes commandements, et de ſupporter avec patience les croix qu'il luy a plû de m'envoyer de temps en temps; ſelon les apparences j'en auray encore dans peu, car le traitté qui vient d'être fait avec la Savoye pouroit avoir des ſuittes,

qui en parlant ſelon le monde, ne me ſeront pas fort avantageuſes ; car quoy que le Roy ait la même amitié et conſideration qu'il a toujours eüe, et qu'il a fait voir tant de fois, neamoins lêtat dans lequel ſes affaires pourront être reduittes pourroit l'obliger a faire des pas pour le bien et le repos de ſon royaume, quil aura de la repugnance a faire, et qui luy donneront peutêtre plus de chagrin qu'a moy, puiſque j'ay êté accoutumé des ma jeuneſſe aux revers de la fortune, et que je regarde le tout comme la volonté du bon Dieu, qui au même temps qu'il nous donne des croix, nous donne de la force pour les ſupporter, particulierement ſi nous les recevons avec la reſignation que nous luy devons, et qu'il attend de nous. Enfin j'eſpere qu'il me fera la grace de ne m'impatienter de rien qui me peût arriver, puiſque c'eſt par les

ſouffrances que l'on doit arriver a la gloire, et que ſans ſouffrir d'une maniere ou d'une autre, on ne peut pas être un veritable Chrêtien. Vous voiez que je vous parle a cœur ouvert, et ce n'eſt qu'a vous que je l'ay encore fait, car on ne m'a pas encore rien dit de la part de la Cour de touttes les negotiations qui ſont ſur pieds, c'eſt pourquoy il eſt neceſſaire de me garder le ſecret, dés que j'en ſeray plus éclairé, je vous fairay part de ce qui me regardera, et me recommande a la continuation de vos bonnes prieres et de ceux de toutte la communauté.

JACQUES ROY.

Lettre 23^e^. *du* 28^e^. *ſeptembre.* 96.

C'EST mon tour a cette heure de vous êcrire, ceque je fais toujours avec beaucoup de plaiſir, et comme vous prenez tant de part a tout ce

qui me regarde, je veux vous faire ſçavoir qu'il y a quelque temps que le Roy m'envoya Mons. de Pompone pour m'advertir que l'Abbé de Polignac luy avoit rendu compte que les Polonnois avoient quelques penſées pour moy dans l'election qu'ils devoient faire bientôt, et que même dans les Diettes particulieres qu'on avoit faites dans quelques unes des provinces, ils avoient parlé de me nommer pour leur Roy a l'aſſemblée generalle qui ſe doit tenir bientôt. A la verité, je ſuis bien obligé a ceux de cette nation qui y ont penſé, et je conſerveray tant que je vivray la reconnoiſſance que je leur dois, et quoyque le Roy n'ait fait rien que de m'en advertir, neanmoins j'ay raiſon de croire que ſi j'avois gouſté l'affaire, il y auroit donné les mains avec autant d'amitié et de generoſité qu'il m'a fait paroître en touttes rencontres depuis

mon arrivée icy, de l'Angleterre; et quand je luy en ay parlé moymême lautre jour, et luy ay donné mes raiſons pour ne le pas accepter au cas qu'on me l'offrit, et bien loing de le briguer ; il me dit qu'il ſ'eſtoit bien attendu que je prendrois ce party la. Beaucoup de mes amis qui ne ſont pas mes ſujets m'ont conſeillé de l'accepter, mais quand je leurs eûs fait voir, qu'en le faiſant ce ſeroit une veritable abdication, ils n'ont plus eû rien a dire, et pour mes ſujets que j'ay conſultéz tous, hormis un, êtoient du même ſentiment que moy, et ce ſeul, quand je luy avois fait voir que ce ſeroit une abdication formelle, n'avoit pas de quoy repliquer ; enfin j'ay pris mon party. J'aime mieux demeurer comme je ſuis, quoyque preſentement il y ait moins d'apparence que jamais de mon rêtabliſſem^t., êtant pleinement perſuadé, que ce ſeroit

perdre entierrement les affaires de la religion et de ma famille, d'en prendre un autre, eſperant bien qu'un jour le bon Dieu me retablira moy ou mon fils dans tous nos droits, ſçachant bien que quand il luy plait, il le peut faire quand on ſ'y attend le moins, et que ſil ne luy plait pas de le faire, quand tous les roys de la terre ſe ſeroient ligués pour cette effet, ils ne ſerviroient de rien. Enfin, je me mets entierrement entre les mains de Dieu, quil faſſe de moy et des miens tout ce quil luy plaira, ſon S^t^. Nom ſoit toujours loüé. En attendant je fais ce que je puis pour être Chretien d'effet auſſi bien que de nom, et afin d'y parvenir, je me recommande a la continuation de vos bonnes prieres, et de ceux de vôtre communauté. Je vous prie de noublier pas la Reine et mes enfans.

JACQUES ROY.

Lettre 24^e^. *du* 20^e^. *octobre.* 96.

A MON arrivée icy vôtre neveu me rendit la vôtre du 4^e^., et je ſuis preſentement fort a mon aiſe par la reponſe que vous m'avéz faitte aux difficultéz que je vous avois propoſé, et je lis touttes vos lettres avec beaucoup de ſatisfaction, puis qu'elles me fortifient tant dans les ſentimens que j'ay de tâcher de vivre par l'aide du bon Dieu, en bon Chrêtien ; cela eſt facile a dire mais tres difficile a y parvenir pour ceux qui vivent dans le grand monde, et qui ſont obligéz á y reſter ; mais a preſent, je ne m'etenderay plus ſur ce ſujet, ayant ſeulement le temps de vous dire que la Reine ſ'eſt trouvée mal depuis huits jours, d'une colique qui ne l'a pas encore tout a fait quittée, quoy qu'elle ſe porte un peu mieux, et qu'il y a lieu d'eſperer que ſa ſancté ſe rêtablira tout a fait

dans deux ou trois jours, ſi bien que avant la fin de la ſemaine qui va entrer, nous pourons retourner a nôtre ſolitude de S^t^. Germain, car c'en eſt une veritablement au prix de la Cour et de la vie qu'on y menne. La Reine ma prié de vous dire qu'elle a receü la vôtre du 15^e^., mais qu'elle n'eſt pas en êtat d'y rêpondre preſentement. Elle ſe recommande a vos bonnes prieres, j'en fais de même pour moy quoy que Dieu mercy, en bonne ſanté. Cette cy vous ſera donnée ou envoyée par le petit frere Chanvier, qui a ce qu'il m'a dit doit partir demain. Je n'ay pas le temps de vous en dire davantage.

JACQUES ROY.

Lettre 25^e^. du mois de janvier. 96.

J'AY lû avec beaucoup de plaiſir des inſtructions que vous avez faites

pour la conduitte d'une dame de la premiere qualité qui m'eſt tombé entre les mains il y a quelque temps. Aſſeurement il n'y a rien de mieux écrit, et qui ait eſté mieux ſuivy par la même dame, ſelon qu'on a pu juger par la vie diſtinguée qu'elle a menné dans le grand monde, ou il eſt difficille de le faire. Je l'ay leüe et relüe, et tacheray d'en profiter autant que ma foibleſſe me le permettra. Je crois que j'y ay trouvé dans la coppie que j'ay lûe, un endroit qui a êté mal coppié, que je vous envoie, afin que vous vouliez bien vous donner la peine de le mettre comme il me paroit qu'il doit être, ſelon le veritable ſens, car de la maniere quil eſt, on pouroit le tourner en un ſens a vôtre deſavantage. J'ay montré la coppie que je vous envoie a deux ou trois habiles gens, ſans pourtant les laiſſer ſcavoir que c'eſtoit de vous a chaqun a

part, qui mont tous dit que dans les termes que cela êtoit exprimé, cela neſtoit pas comme il falloit. C'eſt l'amitié et leſtime que j'ay pour vous, qui m'a obligé de vous en advertir. Depuis mon retour de Fontainebleau, j'ay achevé de lire les deux tômes des Morts de La Trappe que vous m'avez envoyez, qui donnent bien de l'edification a ceux qui les liſent et font bien voir la ſainteté de ceux qui y meurent ; et quoyque ceux qui vivent dans le grand monde ne peuvent pas eſperer d'arriver a un ſi hault point de perfection, nous devons faire nôtre poſſible de les imiter de loing, en offençant le bon Dieu le moins que no. pourons, ce que nous ne pouvons faire ſans ſa grace, et de nous en bien ſervir ; c'eſt ce que je tâcheray de faire, et a cette fin, je me recommande a vos bonnes prieres, et de tous ceux de vôtre commu-

nauté, en ayant bien beſoin. Pour ce qui regarde l'affaire de la paix, ils continuent dans le même état, et quoique le Roy a nommé Mons. de Croiſſy, dans la place de Mons. de Courtin, les paſſeports ne ſont pas encore arrivéz, ny le lieu du congrés nommé, ſi bien que chacun de ſon côté ſe prepare pour continuer la guerre, a fin d'obtenir une paix plus avantageuſe. Dieu ſeul ſçait encore ce qui en ſera, a quoy il nous faut ſoumettre ſans murmurer en aucune façon. La Reine vous fait mil complimens et ſe recommande a vos bonnes prieres. N'oubliéz pas nos enfans.

JACQUES ROY.

Lettre 26^e^. *du* 3^e^. *mars.* 97.

VÔTRE lettre du dix^e^. de janvier ne me fut rendüe qu'un jour ou deux

devant que je fus fort incommodé d'un tres grand rûme, accompagné d'une fievre qui me dura deux ou trois jours, mais le rûme ne m'a pas quitté que juſqu'au degel. Je ne me ſuis pas haſté de vous rêpondre devant le départ des pleinpotentiaires, car juſqu'a ce que ce pas fût fait, on pouvoit douter de la paix, mais preſentem^t. ſelon les apparences elle ſera bientôt conclüe, puiſqu'on a fait de ſi grandes avances de ce coſté cy, et que cela parôit abſolum^t. neceſſaire pour le prince d'Orange; enfin arrive ce qui poura, je ne ſeray pas ſurpris, le bon Dieu m'ayant fait la grace dêtre preparé pour tout; il ſcait mieux que nous ce qui nous convient, et ce qui eſt pour ſa plus grande gloire. Que ſa volonté ſoit faite. Il eſt un bon Mâitre, qui ne manquera pas de recompenſer ceux qui le ſervent de bon cœur, et qui ſe donnent en-

tierrem^t. a luy ; que peut on ſouhaitter davantage ! Je crois qu'on vous auroit desja envoyé un imprimé qui me regarde, mais de peur que l'on ne l'ait pas fait, je vous en envoye un, il a desja paſſé La Mer. on mande de Londres que le Prince Dorange a ordonné d'y faire faire une reponſe, nous l'attendons au premier jour, et vous l'aurez dés qu'elle ſera arrivée. Je vous prie de me faire ſçavoir de vos nouvelles, et comme vous vous êtes porté durant tout le grand froid. Je me recommande a la continuation de vos bonnes prieres, faittes en de même pour mes enfans.

JACQUES ROY.

Lettre 27^e. *du* 3^e. *mai.* 97.

JE prend mes meſures pour avoir la ſatisfaction de vous voir la ſe-

maine de l'Aſçention, et quoyque la Reine a bien envie de vous revoir, elle ne ſera pas du voyage. Je prétens partir d'icy mardy le 14^e^. de ce mois, et d'arriver chez vous le même ſoir. C'eſt aujourdhuy le jour de l'invention de la S^te^. croix, et ce même jour auſſi je fus ſacré a Londres, et quoique le Bon Dieu eut la bonté auſſy de me donner des croix pour me ramener a luy, en me faiſant voir que c'eſt par luy que les Roys regnent, qu'il diſpoſe de tout comme il luy plâit, et que tout en ce monde, n'eſt que vanité, et affliction d'eſpriſt, et en même temps que les croix qu'il donne ſont plus a ſouhaitter que tout ce que le monde peut promettre ou donner, Je ne puis jamais aſſéz loüer la divine bonté qui m'a fait ſenſible de ces veritéz ſalutaires et ſi peu connües par la pluſpart de ceux qui vivent dans le grand monde, et qui ne ſe

ſouvient plus des parolles de Nôtre Seigneur, qu'il faut renonçer a ſoy-même, porter ſa Croix, et le ſuivre. J'ay êté autre fois une brebis egarée, et je ſuis par la Miſericorde du bon Dieu penetré de mes êgaremens paſſéz, et ne puis jamais aſſéz reconnôitre la bonté qu'il a eüe pour moy en m'envoyant tant de Croix, eſtant bien aiſe de ſouffrir en ce monde plûtôt que dans l'autre. Je vous demande la continuation de vos bonnes prieres pour me ſoûtenir dans les efforts que je fais pour me ſervir des graces que Dieu ma données de me ſoûmettre entierrement et ſans murmure, a tout ce quil luy plaiſt ordonner de moy. La Reine ne vous êcrit pas a cette heure, mais elle pretend le faire quand j'iray chez vous, en attendant elle ſe recommande a vos bonnes prieres, bien fachée de n'être pas du voyage.

JACQUES ROY.

Lettre 28e. *du* 4e. *octobre*. 97.

QUELQUES jours devant mon dêpart de St. Germain pour venir icy, je recûs vôtre lettre qui êtoit fort propre pour moy, particulierrem^{t}. dans lêtat preſent de mes affaires, êtant a la veille d'apprendre la ſignature de la paix, et pour cette raiſon, J'ay attendu de vous faire rêponſe juſqu'a ce que cela fut fait. Le Roy en recut la nouvelle le même jour que la Reine et moy arrivaſmes icy, qui fut le 24 du mois paſſé. Il y a longtemps que vous ſçavez que nous y êtions preparéz, ſi bien que cela ne me ſurprit nullem^{t}., et je ſuis aſſeuré que le Roy eut plus de chagrin pour me le dire, que moy de l'entendre, car quoy qu'il ſ'eſt crû obligé pour le bien de ſes affaires de donner la paix a toutte l'Europe, et de faire le pas qu'il á fait, il n'a pas eſté ſans chagrin de ſe croire

obligé de le faire, par l'amitié qu'il a pour moy, et lamour de la juſtice; et quand Bentink a la conference qu'il eut avec Mons. de Bouflers preſſa fort ma ſortie de la France, le Roy eut la conſideration et bonté pour moy de couper cour ſur ce point, et declara qu'il ne vouloit pas entendre de paix ſi le Prince d'Orange inſiſtoit ſur cette article ; enfin le Roy comme il m'a dit luy même faira tout cequil poura pour me rendre le coup plus ſupportable, mais ſi le Roy des Roys n'eût eu la bonté de me donner cette reſignation que j'ay je n'aurois jamais eſté ſi a mon aiſe que je ſuis. Je ſuis tres obligé a beaucoup de gens de mes amis qui me plaignent pour l'êtat preſent de mes affaires, mais il y a parmy ceux la quelques uns pour qui je ſuis plus en peine de ce quils ſe mettent ſi peu en devoir de ſcavoir les devoirs du chriſtianiſme et par conſequent

ne les pratiquent pas, ce ſont ceux la qui ſont veritablem^t. a plaindre, et qui ne peuvent pas être heureux ou contens en ce monde, tant qu'ils ne tachent point a menner une vie que Nôtre Seigneur nous a tracé. Pour ce qui eſt de moy, vous m'avez aſſéz inſtruit de vive voix, par vos lettres, et par ceque j'ay vû chez vous pour ce que je devois faire, mais je ſuis honteux de ne pas mieux y reüſſir. La volonté ne me manque pas, mais je ſuis tres ſenſible que je n'approche pas de menner une vie telle qu'il faudroit. Je me recommande a vos bonnes prieres, afin que je puiſſe avancer dans la voie etroitte de la pieté, et porter touttes les croix qu'il plaira au bon Dieu de m'envoyer, avec patience et même avec joye, et a fin de le mieux faire, de puis mon arrivée jcy, j'ay commencé a lire vôtre conduitte chrêtienne adreſſée a deffunte Madame de Guiſe,

et je tâcheray tant quil me ſera poſſible d'en profiter, eſtant tres ſenſible que ſi je fais de mon côte ceque je dois, que le bon Dieu par ſa grande miſericorde aura pitié de moy dans l'autre monde, tout grand pecheur que je ſuis, êtant penetré de douleur de l'avoir ſi grievem^t. offencé pendant tant d'années de ſuitte, et que je merite des Croix bien plus peſantes que celles qu'il m'a desja données. Je dois m'en retourner a Saint germain mardy qui vient, d'ou la Reine vous êcrira auſſitôt qu'elle y ſera de retour, en attendant elle ſe recommande a vos bonnes prieres. Je vous prie en même temps de ne pas oublier mes enfans.

JACQUES ROY.

Lettre 29^e^. *du* 15^e^. *mars.* 98.

J'ETOIS bien ravy l'autre jour de voir le frere Janvier et d'aprendre

par luy que le froid n'avoit point augmenté vôtre mal comme j'en avois peur, m'intereſſant autant que je fais en tout cequi vous regarde pour le bien public, auſſi bien que pour mon bien particulier; ayant plus de beſoin que jamais de vos bonnes prieres et de vos bons advis dans l'êtat ou je me trouve preſentemt., par de nouvelles croix qui m'arrivent tous les jours. C'eſt la volonté du bon Dieu, et c'eſt de nôtre devoir de tâcher a les ſupporter en veritable chrêtien, et je vo. puis dire avec verité que ceque l'on vient de faire depuis peu en baniſſant avec tant de cruauté beaucoup de mes tres fidels ſujets, me touche plus que tout le reſte qui m'eſt arrivé encore, eſtant ſenſible que tout cequi m'eſt arrivé n'eſt rien au prix de ceque j'ay merité par la vie dereglée que j'ay mennée pour tant dannées de ſuittes autrefois, ayant que trop êprouvé la diffi-

culté quil y a de vivre dans le grand monde et dans les affaires, ſans ſuivre que trop ſes maximes et ſes manieres de vivre, a moins de quelque revers de fortune, ou quelque vocation extraordinaire que le bon Dieu nous envoye par ſa bonté, pour nous reveiller de l'aſſoupiſſem^t. ou nous eſtions abiſméz, et pour nous ouvrir les yeux. Cela m'eſt arrivé plus d'une fois, car ſans la revolution qui arriva a la fin du reigne du feu Roy mon Pere, qui m'obligea a l'age d'environ quinze ans de paſſer la mer pour me ſauver de priſon, et de reſter les douze années devant le retabliſſem^t. de feu Roy mon Pere, la pluſpart du temps dans des pays catholiques, ou ſelon touttes ſortes d'apparences, Je n'aurois jamais ſceû les veritéz de nôtre S^te. religion et quoy que même devant mon ſecond mariage, J'avois eſté reconcilié, et que je tâchois de menner une vie plus reglée, il me

falloit envoyer ce dernier coup de la main de Dieu qui me fît perdre trois royaumes, pour me faire connôitre les veritables devoirs d'un veritable Chrêtien ; c'eſt ce que l'on apprend difficilement dans le tumulte et le bruit du monde ; la ſolitude y eſt neceſſaire ; c'eſt ceque je n'avois jamais bien vû ny conſideré devant d'avoir eſté a La Trappe, ou l'on voit ce que c'eſt que la veritable mortification, et de quitter le monde, et il me falloit ce voyage pour me donner la connoiſſance de moymême, et pour me faire mepriſer tout cequi paroît grand dans le monde, et ne l'y attacher pas. Je ne vous diray plus rien a cette heure ſur ce ſujet, mais pour ce qui me regarde pour le temporel, comme vous prenéz beaucoup de part en tout cequi me touche, vous auréz eté bien aiſe d'aprendre que le Roy a refuſé tout court la propoſition que le Prince

d'Orange luy fit faire par ſon ambaſſadeur de me faire ſortir de ce royaume, quoy qu'au traitté de Ryſvik on n'en avoit point parlé, ayant fait voir en cette occaſion auſſi bien qu'en beaucoup d'autres, la conſideration et lamitié qu'il a pour moy, qu'il a fait voir en bien des rencontres auſſi bien qu'en cette derniere, et a la quelle je ne manqueray jamais de reconnoiſſance. Au reſte quoy qu'il nous arrive de nouvelles croix tous les jours, il ne faut pas ſ'en plaindre, mais les regarder comme autant de marques de la miſericorde du bon Dieu pour nôtre plus grand bien. La Reine ſe recommande a la continuation de vos bonnes prieres et je vous prie n'oubliez pas mes enfans. Je pretend me donner encore la ſatisfaction de vous aller voir, et ne manqueray pas de vous en advertir devant.

Jacques Roy.

Lettre 30e. du 19e. juin. 98.

Je n'ay pas rêpondu plutôt a vôtre derniere lettre que vous m'ecriviſtes que je recûs au commencemt. de May, quand j'êtois incommodé, a cauſe que je ne voulus pas le faire juſqu'a ce que je fus tout a fait remis, et que j'euſſe pris mes meſures pour me donner la ſatisfaction de vous aller voir, ce que je pretend faire ſil plaît a Dieu pour la Nôtre Dame de Juillet, en partant d'icy le dernier de Juin, pour arriver chez vous le premier de Juillet. Jay deſigné de coucher a Aunet, affin d'arriver moins fatigué chez vous, et la Reine doit aller en meme temps a Chaillot pour y paſſer cette feſte et y demeurer juſqu'a mon retour. Le bon Dieu nous envoye preſque tous les jours de nouvelles croix qu'il faut tâcher a recevoir et a ſupporter ſelon nôtre devoir, mais cette derniere nous eſt plus

ſenſible, puis que cela regarde en general nôtre S^te^. religion, car les actes du parlement que le Prince d'Orange fit paſſer en Irland durant le temps du congrés de Ryſvick pour déraciner nôtre S^te^. religion, de ce pays ſont desja mis en execution, par Ruvigny qui y commande en chef, êtant desja arrivé en France environ quatre cens moines, un evêque; enfin de la maniere qu'on ſ'y prend, en peu d'années, a moins que le bon Dieu n'y mette la main, il reſtera peu de catholiques en ce pays là, et ſi ſa ſainteté et les Princes catholiques ne ſe reveillent, les Proteſtans fairont tous les jours de nouveaux progrés par tout. Voila tout ce que je vous diray ſur ce ſujet preſentem^t^. Bentink prit ſon dernier congé du Roy dimanche paſſé, et partit de Paris mardy pour ſ'en retourner par Chantilly en Angleterre, aupres du Prince d'Orange ſon mâitre. Dans ce mo-

ment je fus agreablem^t. ſurpris par l'arrivée de Mons. Maine êtant toujours bien aiſe de voir un ſi honneſte homme que luy, et qui vient de chez vous; il ne demeura icy que tres peu de temps êtant obligé de retourner a Verſailles avec l'Abbé Boiſleau. J'ay eſté bien faché d'aprendre que vous n'etiez pas gueri de vôtre toûx dont il m'a dit que vous êtiez tres incommodé les nuits, j'eſpere que le chaud qu'il fait preſentem^t. vous guerira, et que je vous trouveray ſoulagé de ce mal a mon arrivée chez vous. Je luy ay dit le temps que je prétend m'y rendre. Je me recommande a la continuation de vos bonnes prieres, je n'en ay jamais eû plus de beſoin pour les raiſons que je vous ay desja données, et d'autres que je vous diray quand je vous voiray. La Reine vous recommande le même pour elle, je vous les demande auſſy pour mes enfans, c'eſt demain le

jour de la naiſſance de mon fils, il aura dix ans complets.

JACQUES ROY.

Lettre 31^e^. *du* 26^e^. *ſeptembre.* 98.

JE ne me ſuis pas fort preſſé de vous êcrire de puis mon retour de chez vous, ayant eu envie de ſcavoir devant que de le faire comment ſe finiroit l'affaire de l'Etrée; a mon arrivée icy, j'ay trouvé qu'on ne voulut pas en entendre parler n'y d'aucune propoſition de cette nature, ſi bien que tout ce que je pouvois faire, cêtoit tout doucem^t^. de tâcher a diſculper le nouveau Abbé de ce que ſon zele pour l'augmentation de leur reforme en d'autres endroits, l'avoit pouſſé a faire un peu bruſquement ce pas; depuis cela jay eſté fort mortifié d'avoir appris l'affaire des Clerets qui fait bien du

bruit a ſon deſavantage. On m'a dit que cette affaire êtoit entre les mains de Mons. l'Archevêque de Paris, mais il y a apparence qu'au retour du Roy, elle ſera terminée, et je crois que vous en ſerez averty plûtôt que moy. J'eſpere que cela finira a vôtre ſatisfaction, et pour le bien de toutte cette communauté m'intereſſant autant que je fais en tout ce qui vous regarde. J'ay fait un voyage a Compiegne pendant que le Roy y fut, et il y a quelques jours que je ſuis revenu tres content de la continuation de lamitié du Roy, et de la beauté et bon êtat de ſes troupes. Luymême et ceux qui les ont vües en ſont tres contents, et avec raiſon, et on ne ſcauroit aſſéz admirer le zele de tous les officiers qui ont fait tant de dêpence pour ſe mettre en êtat, eux et leurs compagnies a fin de plaire au Roy, et gagner ſes bonnes graces, cela leur eſt fort loüable

et leur devoir. Je ſouhaitte de tout mon cœur quils vouluſſent faire de même pour plaire au Roy des Roys, l'un eſt leur devoir auſſi bien que l'autre. Malheur a ceux qui ne le font pas, et heureux tous ceux qui font tous leurs efforts pour le faire. Le Roy a eſté de retour a Verſailles depuis mercredy paſſé, et prêtend partir pour fontainebleau le deux^e. doctobre; la Reine et moy devons le ſuivre la ſemaine d'apres. La perſecution en Irland continüe bien fort contre les Catholiques, et ſi le bon Dieu n'y met la main promptem^t., en peu de temps notre S^te. religion y ſera extirpée, ou elle eſt plus conſiderable que dans les autres royaumes; et alors, il y a que trop de raiſon a craindre que le Prince d'Orange tâchera a faire la même choſe en Angleterre, ce qui luy ſera facile de faire, puis que les loix qui y ſont desja, ſont ſuffiſantes pour le

faire, en les mettant en execution, cequ'il n'a pas fait juſqu'a cette heure, pour garder quelques meſures avec Meſs. les Princes Catholiques, pour les tromper, et mieux conduire ſes projets. Je pourois m'étendre ſur ce ſujet mais c'eſt aſſéz pour cette heure; il faut tâcher a ſuporter tout ce qui nous arrive en bon chrêtien, et pour cela vous demander la continuation de vos bonnes prieres, et de tous ceux de vôtre ſainte maiſon, pour la Reine, mes enfans, et moy.

JACQUES ROY.

Lettre 32^e^. *du* 29^e^. *decembre.* 98.

JE ne me ſuis pas haſté de vous faire ſcavoir que j'avois recü la vôtre du 22^e^. de Novembre juſqu'a ceque j'eûs appris que le Roy avoit accepté la demiſſion du nouveau Abbé, et quil a eü tant de conſideration pour

vous et les vôtres, que d'aprouver et nommer un de vôtre ſainte communauté en ſa place ; par là j'eſpere que tout continura comme vous l'avez étably avec tant de reputation et de ſainteté, nonobſtant le bruit ſourd qui n'avoit courru que trop parmy quelques uns, de ce qui ſ'y étoit paſſé. Enfin on n'a qua vivre dans le monde pour eſtre convincü, que tant que nous reſterons dans cette vallée de larmes, que tout n'eſt que miſere et vexation d'eſpriſt, et que les plus ſaints lieux même ne ſont pas exempts des mortifications, á quoy on ne ſ'attendoit pas, outre celles qu'ils ſe ſont données volontairem^t. qui arrivent pour la plûpart pour la plus grande ſanctification de ceux parmy eux qui les reçoivent avec une veritable ſoumiſſion et patience a touttes ces êpreuves ; car ils ſçavent qu'il faut qu'il arrive des ſcandales, et que malheur à ceux par qui ils

arrivent ; et il n'y en arrive que trop tous les jours ; n'y ayant point de retraittes, point de communautéz a l'abry de ces coups de vents, de ces ſortes de tempeſtes, qui s'elevent inopinement, et quand on n'y penſe le moins. La perſecution continüe encore tres fortement contre les Catholiques en Irland. Il n'y a que trop de raiſon a craindre qu'elle ne commencera en Angleterre que trop tôt, puiſque le Prince d'Orange y eſt de retour et ſon parlement aſſemblé ; il eſt vray que juſqu'a preſent il les avoit laiſſéz aſſéz tranquillem^t. en ce pays là, par la conſideration quil avoit de ſes alliéz Catholiques, et le beſoin qu'il en avoit pour venir about de ſes deſſeins, mais a cette heure quil a fait la paix partout, et qu'il ſe regarde comme bien étably en toutte maniere, il n'y a que trop de raiſons a croire quil ne gardera plus de meſures a l'egard

des Catholiques, puis que c'eſt ſon intereſt de touttes manieres (auſſy bien que ce l'êtoit de la Reine Eliſabeth d'Angleterre), et que ſes inclinations l'y portent, car il a eſté êlevé Calviniſte, ce que l'autre n'avoit point eſté, et ſe trouvant a la teſte de Princes et Eſtats proteſtans, il ſe joindra avec eux pour l'augmentation de leur ſecte et hereſie, et la ruine de nôtre ſainte religion ; et ce ſeroit un grand point gagné de l'extirper de mes trois Royaumes. En fin il n'y a que le bon Dieu qui le puiſſe empecher dans l'êtat ou ſont preſentem^t. les Princes, et Etats catholiques, et il ne nous reſte qu'a nous ſoûmettre a ſa divine providence avec patience et ſans murmure, car ſes voyes ſont juſtes et ſes deſſeins impenetrables, et pour ſurcrôit a tout, nous ſommes accabléz de beaucoup de Catholiques des trois royaumes, bannis et chaſſéz de leurs

pays, qui ne peuvent pas y retourner, particulierem^t^. des Irlandois qui ſont en tres grand nombre, et preſts a mourir de faim, ſans être en êtat de leurs fournir a tous. Enfin la Reine et moy vous demandons, a vous et aux vôtres de continuer vos s^ts^. prieres pour nous, et noubliez pas nos enfans.

Jacques Roy.

Lettre 33^e^. *du* 29^e^. *May*. 99.

Si ce n'eut eſté pour un grand rûme dont Je fus attaqué la ſemaine paſſée avec la fievre en même temps, qui m'obligea a me faire ſeigner tout au commencem^t^., je m'êtois propoſé de vous faire une viſite cette ſemaine de l'Aſcention, mais comme la plus part de ceux qui ont eſté incommodéz de ce même mal cette année, ont eü de la peine a ſe remettre, et que cela m'auroit fort

affoibly, jay eſté obligé a la differer pour quelque temps ; dont j'ay eſté bien fâché, ſouhaittant fort d'avoir le plaiſir et la ſatisfaction de vous revoir, ceque je pretend faire ſ'il plait au bon Dieu vers la Nôtre dame de Juillet ; mais je vous en avertiray encore quelques jours devant, car en ce monde on n'eſt ſur de rien. La Reine fut attaquée d'une colique ne fretique ou billeuſe vers la fin de la ſemaine paſſée, dont elle fut tres incommodée pendant deux jours, et a eü de la peine a ſe remettre, et même cela l'a empeché d'aller ſelon la coûtume la veille de lAſcention a Chailliot ; il nous arrive des croix de touttes ſortes de manieres, le bon Dieu en ſoit loüé, il faut que ce ſoit pour nôtre bien puiſqu'il luy plait de l'ordonner ainſi ; c'eſt un bon Pere qui ſçait ce qui eſt bon pour nous, et en tout il faut ſ'y ſoumettre ſans plainte ny murmure,

et tâcher a ne ſimpatienter pour rien de cette nature, et de ne craindre quoy quil ſoit, que d'offencer le bon Dieu, et tâcher de hanter autant que l'on peut, les gens de bien, ſe ſouvenant de cequi eſt dit dans les Pſeaumes, qu'avec les ſaints on apprend la ſainteté, et qu'avec les mêchans, on court grand riſque de les reſſembler ; ceſt pour cette raiſon que je me rendray aupres de mon pere abbé auſſitôt que je puis, car touttes les fois que j'ay le bonheur de vous entretenir, et de vous entendre parler, cela me renouvelle l'ardeur que j'ay gagnée dans cette ſainte maiſon, de me donner entierrem^{t}. a la divine providence, et de faire mon poſſible de le ſervir en bon chrêtien dans l'etat ou il m'a mis. Je me recommande a la continuation de vos bonnes prieres, la Reine et mes enfans, et a celles de toutte vôtre communauté. La vôtre

du premier de ce mois me fut rendüe peu de jours apres que vous l'aviez écrite. Je les lis toujours avec beaucoup de plaiſir, et elles me ſont tres utilles, je tâche d'en profiter.

JACQUES ROY.

Lettre 34^e^. *du* 15^e^. *Juin.* 99.

JE vous écris ce mot ſeulement pour vous dire que je continue dans les mêmes ſentimens que je vous avois mandez par ma derniere lettre de vous aller voir a la fin de ce mois ſ'il plait au bon Dieu, je prêtend partir d'jcy le 29^e^. pour avoir le bonheur de vous voir le 30^e^., ce me ſera une grande ſatisfaction auſſi bien que fort utille; ceux qui vivent dans le grand monde en ont plus de beſoin que les autres pour joüir un peu d'une ſolitude comme la vôtre; la Reine ſe recommande a vos bonnes

prieres, vous n'oublirez pas comme j'eſpere mes enfans, Il n'eſt pas neceſſaire de vous en dire davantage a cette heure.

JACQUES ROY.

Lettre 35^e^.

de fontainebleau.

DEVANT que de partir de S^t^. Germain pour ce lieu cy, on me donna la vôtre du 26^e^. du mois paſſé, javois commencé a y rêpondre deux ou tros jours devant que de quitter ce lieu la, mais je n'eüs pas le loiſir de l'achever êtant obligé d'aſſiſter a la diſtribution des aumoſnes qu'on faiſoit des charitéz que ſa ſainteté nous a envoyées pour ſoulager les pauvres Catholiques des trois royaumes, qui ſont refugiéz icy en france, chaſſéz et bannis de leur pays pour avoir ſervy le Roy, et moy, et ſans les charitéz quils ont recüs

jcy, auſſi bien que de Rome, il auroit eſté impoſſible de faire ſubſiſter tant de pauvres familles reduittes a l'extremité, et même bien des gens de qualité parmy eux, qui n'ont ſubſiſté de puis pres de dix ans que par la providence, puiſque de temps en temps nous n'avons pas eû des vües, pour les pouvoir ſoulager quand le bon Dieu nous a envoyé de quoy le faire. Ce m'eſt un grand plaiſir et une ſatisfaction toutes les fois que je reçois de vos lettres, de voir que vous vous ſouvenez de moy et des miens dans vos prieres, nous en avons bien beſoin dans lêtat ou no. ſommes pour nous ſoutenir et nous fortifier pour pratiquer la veritable réſignation a la volonté du bon Dieu, ceque nous tachons de faire autant que nôtre foibleſſe nous le permet, eſperant que vos bonnes prieres et celles des gens de bien nous fortifiront dans

cette penſée, de ne nous point mettre en peine de tout cequi nous peut arriver jcy, pourvû que nous gagnions une heureuſe eternité ; il me ſemble que tant de morts qui viennent d'arriver ſi pres les unes des autres parmy les grands de la terre, comme la Reine de Portugal, Princeſſe jeune, vertueuſe, et tres charitable ; du Roy de Dannemark qui n'avoit que cinquante trois ans ; de la Ducheſſe de Modene mere du duc de ce nom qui reigne preſentem^t., doivent faire ſonger a eux, grands et petits, et qu'on n'eſt pas ſeur de vivre un moment, et quoyque ce ſoit une verité connüe et avoüée par tout le monde, combien peu y en a-t-il qui vivent comme ils le croient, il faut les plaindre et prier pour leur converſion. Nous avons penſé perdre l'Abbé Boiſleau le predicateur qui eſt fort de vos amis auſſi bien que le mien ; je ne fais nulle doute qu'il

êtoit bien preparé mais le bon Dieu la préſervé pour l'amour de ſes amis et pour inſtruire les autres. Je ne ſcay ſi la maladie quil a eüe ne lempechera pas de precher le Carême qui vient devant le Roy, c'êtoit une hôneur qu'il navoit pas brigué, mais du choix du Roy. J'ay fait de puis mon arrivée icy une connoiſſance avec l'evêque de Toul qui a la reputation parmy tout le monde de ſe conduire en veritable evêque, et ne quitte guerre ſon troupeau. Il eſt venu a la cour pour des affaires de ſon Diocêze êtant fort tourmenté par le parlement de Nancy. La Reine a eſté un peu incommodée de puis ſon arrivée icy, mais Dieu mercy, elle ſe porte mieux a cette heure, cela l'a un peu mortifiée, quoy quelle ſe paſſeroit allieurs aiſem^{t}. de quelques uns des divertiſſemens dont elle ne peut pas ſe paſſer icy ; il faut encore une fois ſe re-

commander a vos bonnes prieres et a ceux de vôtre communauté, nous en avons bien beſoin pour nous ſoutenir dans lêtat ou nous ſommes.

JACQUES ROY.

Lettre 36^e^. *du* 29^e^. *Janvier*. 1700.

CE m'eſt toujours un grand plaiſir auſſi bien qu'un ſoulagement de recevoir vos lettres en tout temps ; pour a preſent Dieu mercy je me porte tres bien, il ne me reſte qu'un peu de foibleſſe a un de mes pieds ou jay eu la goutte êtant tout a fait gueri de mon autre mal qui me fit aſſéz ſouffrir pour le temps quil dura dont je rends grace au bon Dieu, puiſque c'eſt par les ſouffrances, et en ſ'y ſoumettant avec une reſignation et une patience veritablem^t^. chrêtienne, qu'on peut luy plaire, c'eſt le devoir de tout le monde,

particulierrement pour un qui l'a tant offencé que moy, et d'avoir negligé pour tant d'années les advertiſſements d'un ſi bon Pere qui a tant travaillé a me r'appeller a luy. Je ne puis jamais aſſéz dêplorer ma miſere davoir commencé ſi tard, et ce n'eſt qu'a ſa ſeulle miſericorde en quoy on peut eſperer, et en les bonnes prieres des gens de bien. Je demande la continuation des vôtres, et de tous ceux de vôtre maiſon, y ayant tant profité par ceque j'y ay vû et le ſejour que j'ay eu le bonheur d'y faire quelquefois chez vous. La Reine a eſté a Chaillot hyer pour la feſte de S^t^. Francois de Sales et doit revenir icy demain, et alors elle a deſigné de vous êcrire elle même, vous ſérez bien aiſe de ſçavoir que mon fils fit ſa premiere communion le Jour de Noël. J'eſpere que le bon Dieu luy donnera la grace de perſeverer dans les

bonnes inclinations qu'il paroît avoir preſentem^t^. Je le recommande luy et ſa ſœur a vos bonnes prieres.

JACQUES ROY.

Lettre 37^e^. *du* 28^e^. *avril.* 1700.

VOICY les feſtes de Paſque paſſées, et je prêtend ſ'il plait au bon Dieu de me donner la ſatisfaction et le plaiſir de vous aller voir chez vous la ſemaine de l'Aſcention. J'ay crû quil êtoit a propos de vous en advertir de ſi bonne heure, quoyqu'en ce monde on n'eſt ſur de rien, ſinon qu'il faut mourir, pas même pour un moment, comme ceux qui l'ont pratiqué ſi longtemps que moy le doivent ſcavoir. En fin les deux Chambres du Parlement d'Angletterre ont paſſé ce terrible acte, par le quel ils prétendent extirper nôtre Sainte Religion des trois malheureux

royaumes, á quoy le Prince d'Orange a donné ſon conſentemt. auſſi, non obſtant touttes les promeſſes et aſſeurances quil avoit fait donner a ces anciens confederez de la maiſon d'Autriche, par ſes lettres et ſes Miniſtres, particuliermt. a ceque l'on dit par le Prince de Vaudemont a Rome, quand il y fut il y a quelques années, et par d'autres, de ne jamais permettre que les loix desja faittes, ſeroient miſes en force contre les Catholiques, mais a cette heure tout le monde ſçait le contraire, et que cette loy quil vient de paſſer, nouvellemt. (au moins que le bon Dieu n'y mette la main viſiblemt.) déracinera en peu d'années la catholicité des trois royaumes. Juſqu'a ceque cette acte ſoit imprimé, on ne peut pas ſi bien juger de l'effet, que ces meſſieurs qui l'ont fabriqué pretendent, et vers le temps que je ſeray chez vous, on aura nouvelle

comment ils commenceront a agir avec nos evêques, et tous ceux qui y ſont nomméz c'eſt une êpreuve bien rude, il faut prier le bon Dieu de les fortifier et de les ſoûtenir. Je ſuis aſſeuré que vos prieres et celles de tous les vôtres ny manqueront pas, je prie comme on eſt obligé, tous les jours pour la converſion de ce pauvre malheureux, le Prince d'Orange, et tous ceux qui me font du tort, et tacheray autant que je puis a être un veritable Chrêtien.

JACQUES ROY.

La Reine a eſté charmée de vôtre lettre, et ſe recommande elle et ſes deux enfans a vos bonnes prieres.

Lettre 38^e^. *du* 20^e^. *ſeptembre.* 1700.

IL y a quelque temps que j'ay receu la vôtre du 30^e^. d'Aouſt par

celuy qui vous ſervit alors de ſecretaire en l'abſence de Mons. Maine; tout ce qui vient de vôtre part me donne beaucoup de ſatisfaction, et de voir que vous vous ſouvenez tant de moy, mais l'etat en lequel vous êtes par le mauvais êtat de vôtre ſanc̃té, de quoy Mons. le Baube m'a rendu compte, m'afflige fort, et me donne bien de la peine, quoy que je ſçay que ceux qui mennent une vie auſſi S^te^. et exemplaire que vous, ſont bien aiſe de mourir, me ſouvenant de ce que S^t^. Jean Climaque dit ſur ce ſujet. Je ſuis bien aiſe d'aprendre que Mons. Maine eſt ſi bien remis de la dangereuſe maladie quil a eûe, ſ'il y eut eſté emporté, cela auroit eſté une tres grande perte pour tous nous autres qui avons de lamitié pour luy, et pour vôtre S^te^. com̃unauté. Vous aurez desja appris la mort de mon petit fils, le fils de la Princeſſe de Danne-

mark a Windſor; ce pouroit être un bonheur pour cet enfant de mourir ſi jeune, il n'avoit que onze ans complets, et on peut eſperer pour luy qu'a cette age là, le bon Dieu peut avoir eu miſericorde de ſon ame, car ſ'il avoit veſcû plus long-temps, ſelon les apparences il auroit été engagé a participer des crimes du reſte du pays, ayant un tel gouverneur et un tel precepteur. Monſieur l'Evêque de Meaux m'a prié de faire reimprimer les papiers du feu Roy mon frere, et ceux de la deffunte Ducheſſe de Yorke, que vous avez desja vûs et y adjouter la relation de la mort du feu Roy mon frere, croyant qu'ils peuvent avoir un bon effet parmy les nouveaux ou mauvais convertis, comme auſſi de faire voir a tout le monde quil eſt mort Catholique, ce que bien des gens même dans ce pays jcy en doutoient. Je crois que l'on a

guere vû de lettre ou par hazard on a repeté ſi ſouvent le nom de la mort; il me ſemble que je fais bien d'y ſonger toujours, afin d'y être bien preparé, croyant que quand on y ſonge bien comme il faut, que l'on vivra mieux, et qu'on ne ſera pas ſi ſujet a ſe negliger, mais dêtre toujours preſt. J'eſpere que le bon Dieu me faira la grace de perſeverer dans ces ſentimens. Je vous prie d'interceder pour moy a ſa divine Majeſté, que je puiſſe demeurer ferme dans ces mêmes ſentimens, tant qu'il luy plaira de me laiſſer dans ce monde; vous ſçavez bien que je ſouhaitte d'en ſortir, le plustôt eſt le meilleur, afin de ne pouvoir plus l'offencer, a quoy je ſuis tres ſenſible, on y eſt expoſé tant que l'on vivra. Les lettres de Rome arriverent vendredy au ſoir, le Pape ſe portoit pour lors un peu mieux, mais il ny a pas d'apparence êtant

ſi avancé en age quil eſt, quil puiſſe durer longtemps ; ces lettres etoient du trente uniême. On ſe prepare pour Fontainebleau, le Roy doit partir le 23^e^., et la Reine et moy le 28^e^. et laſſemblée du clergé fairont leur harangue au Roy lundy. Pour ce qui eſt du Prince d'Orange il y a apparence quil ſe porte mieux qu'a ſon arrivée en Hollande, car il avoit fait ſon voyage a Breda, Bercopzon, de la, a Grave pour retourner a Loo, et de la retourner en Angleterre au commencement d'octobre. Les loix terribles qu'il paſſe l'hyver paſſé pour extirper nôtre S^te^. religion, ont commencé a cette heure a être miſes en force, car par les lettres venües de Londres, nous apprenons q'un prêtre et miſſionaire anglois avoit été condamné par les juges a Londres a une priſon perpetuelle, et fut enſuitte envoyé priſonnier a Neugate, qui eſt le lieu ou l'on garde ces ſortes de criminels.

Je prie le bon Dieu de donner de la force a ces martyrs, de ſouffrir avec fermeté. Je vous envoie trois coppies de ces imprimées dont je vous ay parlé, l'une pour vous même, une pour Monſieur lAbbé, et l'autre pour Monsr. Maine. 1.

Jacques Roy.

Conſultation du Roy d'Angleterre faite au R. Pere ancien Abbé de la Trappe écrite de la main de ſa Majeſté ſans ſignature et ſans datte.

Comme je vous parle toujours a coeur ouvert pour le ſpirituel auſſi bien que le temporel, je ne puis m'empecher de vous prier de me donner vôtre ſentiment ſur une penſée qui m'eſt venüe dans la teſte, dont je n'ay pas encore parlé a qui que ce ſoit, ni n'en parleray pas a perſonne que je n'aye vôtre reponſe ; ceſt de ſcavoir ſi un homme comme moy qui a offencé le bon Dieu par tant de pechéz mortels, et qui a veſcu des années preſque entieres dans un ſi miſerable êtat, doit ſe ſervir des prieres de l'Egliſe pour tâcher dobtenir de Dieu d'abreger le temps que

je dois eſtre dans le purgatoire, êtant perſuadé comme je ſuis que je merite des peines infinies de l'avoir offencé ſi grievement, et ſi ce n'eſt pas mieux fait deſtre content de tout ſouffrir juſqu'au temps preſcrit, et de donner cet argent, quon laiſſe ordinairem^t^. pour prier pour ſon ame, aux pauvres.

Il y a auſſi une autre choſe ſur quoy je demande vos ſentimens; ſi ce n'eſt mieux fait de donner ce que lon a accoutumé de laiſſer pour des œuvres de pieté ou des charitéz dans ſon teſtament pendant ſa vie, que de faire payer cela a ſes heritiers, puiſquil me paroiſt plus juſte et convenable qu'on le faſſe ſoymême durant ſa vie, que de laiſſer cette charge a ſes heritiers. Je ne pretens pas trouver a redire a ceux qui en uſent autrement, diſant ſeulem^t^. ma penſée a mon égard. et pour l'autre point je parle auſſi ſeulement

pour ce qui me regarde, priant tous les jours pour les morts ſelon l'uſage de l'Egliſe, et même je ſeray bien aiſe qu'on le faſſe pour moy quand je ſeray mort.

Je n'ay pas eu le temps de copier cecy au nêt, et même j'ay peur de ne mêſtre pas bien expliqué pour vous faire bien comprendre ceque je veux dire. Je le met dans un papier a part, et je vous prie d'en faire de meme quand vous me ferez rêponſe.

1.

Le Roy dAngleterre aiant conſenti de ſon vivant, pour une marque ſinguliere de la confience et des bontez qu'il a eües pour noſtre R. P. Ancien Abbé et pour ſa maiſon, que nous gardaſſions les lettres originalles que ſa Majeſté lui avoit ecrittes: et la Reine nousaiant ordonné delui en envoier une copie, Je certifie a tous quil appartiendra que celle cy eſt en tout conforme aux originaux qui ſont entre nos mains; en foy de quoy nous avons ſigné le preſent certificat a la Trappe le trentieme decembre 1701

JACQUES ABBE DE LA TRAPPE.

MAYNE, Secretaire du R. P. ancien Abbé de la Trappe.

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